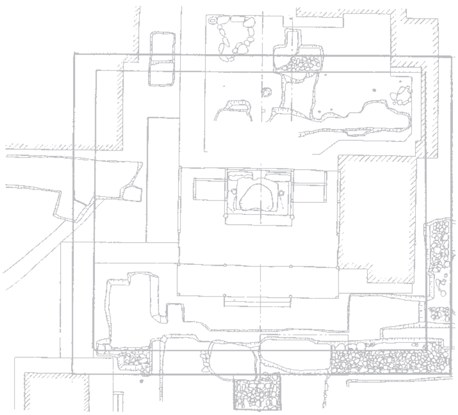


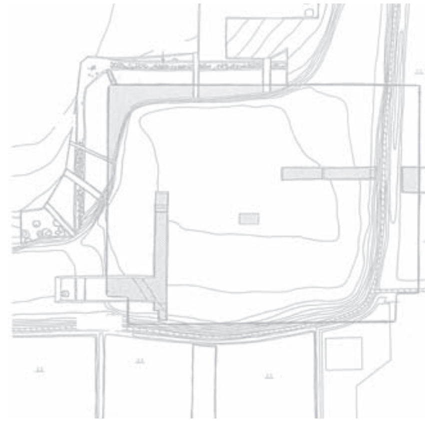
THE FOUR GREAT TEMPLES

Buddhist Archaeology, Architecture, and Icons of Seventh-Century Japan

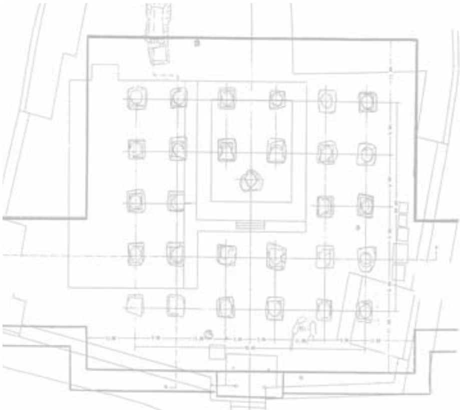
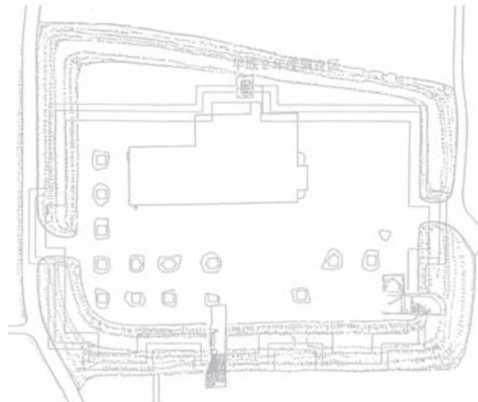
DONALD F. McCALLUM

THE FOUR GREAT TEMPLES





THE FOUR GREAT

TEMPLES

Buddhist Archaeology, Architecture, and Icons of Seventh-Century Japan

Donald F. McCallum

University of Hawai‘i Press
Honolulu

Printed in the United States of America
14 13 12 11 10 09 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
McCallum, Donald F. (Donald Fredrick), 1939–
The four great temples : Buddhist archaeology, architecture, and icons of seventh-century Japan / Donald F. McCallum.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-8242-3114-1 (hard cover : alk. paper)
1. Buddhist antiquities — Japan — Asuka-mura Region. 2. Temples, Buddhist — Japan — Asuka-mura Region. 3. Asuka-mura Region (Japan) — Antiquities. 4. Buddhism — Japan — History — To 794. I. Title.
BQ239.J3A886 2008
294.3'4350952 — dc22 2008022153

University of Hawai‘i Press books are printed on acid-free paper and meet the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Council on Library Resources.

Designed by April Leidig-Higgins

Printed by Edwards Brothers

For Kenneth and Takayo

Contents

Illustrations

FIGURES

MAPS

GENEALOGIES

Preface and Acknowledgments

THE INCEPTION AND early history of Buddhism and Buddhist art and architecture in the Japanese islands remain unclear, yet it is apparent that extremely significant transformations occurred from the late sixth to the seventh century in practically all aspects of material and intellectual culture. Numerous studies in Japanese, and a smaller number in other languages, have addressed this period of a little more than a hundred years: historians, art historians, archaeologists, religion specialists, and the like have all probed the data from their specific perspectives, each contributing new insights on key problems. Here I propose to concentrate on a group of four temples associated with the highest strata of society in the hope that what we can learn from an analysis of each of them, and from all of them as a group, will enhance our understanding of the fabric of seventh-century Japan, especially as lived by members of the ruling class.

This book, a response to approximately fifty years of intense archaeological investigation of Buddhist temple sites in Japan, could not have been written without the data derived from these excavations. Naturally, in all cases an effort will be made to relate the archaeological finds with the extant textual evidence, a body of material that has been studied intensively by philologists and historians. I will consider a number of basic issues in the Introduction and then will devote four chapters to our principal subject, the Four Great Temples (Yondaiji) of seventh-century Japan; each chapter will have a general historical introduction, a description of the site, a careful analysis of the pertinent historiographical issues, detailed discussion of the archaeological remains, including foundations and tiles, and a survey of available information concerning the icons. Much of this material will be technical, and parts may not be of interest to everyone; this, however, should not pose any serious problems since the structure of the book allows readers to skip such sections without losing the overall thread of the narrative. In the Conclusion, I will attempt to sum up the key arguments of the overall study.

At first it may seem that Chapters 1 through 4 treat in a somewhat mechanical manner similar bodies of data, but this is not the case, because in each of these chapters I investigate rather different issues. Chapter 1,

"Asukadera," is fundamental to the entire project since it will introduce some of the key factors in the study of temple archaeology, in that regard establishing a foundation for the subsequent chapters. In addition, I will pay close attention to the role of the Soga clan as patrons of this first great temple built in Yamato. In order to contextualize the historical implications of this patronage, a very close study of the relevant textual material, especially *Nihon shoki* and *Gangōji engi*, is necessary, for this will help establish a paradigm for the analysis of textual material in relation to the pertinent archaeological data.

Chapter 2, "Kudara Ōdera," will, of course, deal with many of the same issues, as we shall rely on both archaeological and textual data. In contrast to the Soga patronage of Asukadera, a crucial significance of Kudara Ōdera is its status as the first documented instance of a royal temple, vowed by the monarch Jomei. Fundamental to this chapter will be a very detailed discussion of the excavations at Kibi Pond, now believed by most scholars to be the site of Kudara Ōdera, the location of which was previously unknown. Since the relevant archaeological results at Kibi Pond were obtained in excavations carried out between 1997 and 2001, we see here an example of the most current archaeological techniques in Japan, whereas the excavations at Asukadera began decades ago in 1956. As a consequence, I intend to present the results of each season at Kibi Pond in considerable detail, with the goal of describing the nature of a recent archaeological project. Contrasting with the Asukadera data, which have been in the public domain for almost fifty years, that of Kudara Ōdera is very recent and generally not widely disseminated. Building on the material presented in Chapter 1, this chapter will try to indicate some of the main refinements in excavation methodology as developed in recent years. Chapters 1 and 2 are in certain ways a pair in that both involve close study of textual material, in the case of Chapter 2, *Nihon shoki* and *Daianji engi*. While this material is extremely complex, I believe it must be confronted if one is ever to develop convincing hypotheses as to the histories of Asukadera and Kudara Ōdera.

The goals of Chapter 3, "Kawaradera," are somewhat different from those of the preceding two chapters. Like Asukadera, the temple was excavated nearly a half a century ago, and information concerning it has already been incorporated into the scholarly literature. For that reason, there is little need to treat in detail once again many of the construction issues that are fully described in Chapter 1, although certainly new factors will be discussed as relevant. Unlike both Asukadera and Kudara Ōdera, Kawaradera does not have an ancient text (*engi*) devoted to its history, nor is it covered to any extent in *Nihon shoki*; therefore this necessitates a somewhat different methodology in trying to understand the temple's early development. I do believe, however, that a reasonably plausible explanation of Kawaradera's history can be formulated.

A very important feature distinguishing Kawaradera from Asukadera and Kudara Ōdera is the occurrence of related ground plans and roof tiles at temples located throughout the country. I will suggest that this situation relates to important developments taking place in political institutions during the third quarter of the seventh century, which are different in character from those of the first half of the century, and thus I intend to emphasize the impact of Kawaradera on a number of other temples, including those located around the Ōtsu capital; on Kanzeonji in Kyushu to the south-west; and on Shimotsuke Yakushiji in the Kantō region to the north-east. At times some of the issues may seem distant from our main themes, but I hope that this sort of analysis will offer new insights into the broader situation of at least one of the Four Great Temples. Particularly important will be the elucidation of historical connections between an important capital temple and a variety of other temples located in other areas.

Chapter 4, "Yakushiji," will focus on the member of the Four Great Temples group that is most well-known today. Three of our four temples were transferred from the old capital, Fujiwarakyō, to the new capital, Heijōkyō, in the early part of the Nara period, and in contrast to the other two that were transferred (Asukadera and Kudara Ōdera), Yakushiji retained essentially the same plan in its new location; this allows us to compare in detail the seventh- and eighth-century manifestations of a single religious institution. Particularly important is the actual nature of the "transfer" of temples, an issue that has engaged scholars for a long time and can be especially well studied in the case of Yakushiji. I hope this discussion will provide an opportunity to elucidate key factors related to the "transfer" of the great temples from the old to the new capital. Also, an issue of great importance is the manner in which Yakushiji was integrated into the first full-scale capital in Japan, Fujiwarakyō, thereby initiating a relationship between capital and temple that remained important in subsequent centuries.

Given the nature of the evidence much speculation will be found in these pages. I believe this is inescapable since some problems may never be fully resolved; nevertheless, a judicious weighing of the evidence should allow at least tentative conclusions. The alternative would be an overly cautious presentation that would not shed a great deal of light. Naturally, I will try to clearly label all statements that are speculative; in particular, I intend, after first labeling a hypothesis as speculative, to avoid then slipping into a usage of the hypothesis as if it is certain. For example, the most important hypothesis in this book is the proposal that the Kibi Pond site is that of the second great temple, Kudara Ōdera. It would probably be quite tedious if every mention of this theory was strongly qualified by a "speculation" warning, so I will rely on the reader's ability to keep in mind the initial statements as to the tentative character of this hypothesis.

This work, somewhat surprisingly, shares some features with an earlier book of mine, *Zenkōji and Its Icon: A Study in Medieval Japanese Religious Art*; while that book concentrated on a provincial, relatively low-status phenomenon, the present study is very much focused on central institutions of the highest political and religious significance. How then could the two be similar? While certainly not a conscious strategy on my part, both books deal with bodies of material that are extraordinarily difficult to actually see, surely a peculiar state of affairs for an art historian. In the case of Zenkōji I was concerned with a secret icon (*hibutsu*) never revealed to human eyes; here I am tackling a group of archaeological remains that, while not secret, are not usually visible and in some cases totally below ground level. Naturally, both projects were predicated on the assumption that something was to be gained through an examination of less-than-obvious material. The study of the cult of the Zenkōji Amida Triad did, I believe, offer fresh insights into the ideology and practice of an important icon tradition in medieval Japan, one that had not previously been examined with any concentration. Similarly, even though the sites of the Four Great Temples are not immediately appealing as architectural monuments in their current form, painstaking investigation does, I assert, lead to quite fundamental and radical revision of the standard viewpoints of early Buddhist Japan.

A NUMBER OF individuals and institutions assisted me in the years during which this book was in preparation. In particular, I have four great debts: to the University of Michigan, where I was the Toyota Visiting Professor in 2000 and had the opportunity to lead a seminar related to the present book; I thank Marty Powers for extending this invitation; to the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto, where much of the research was carried out in 2002; to the University of Kansas, where I gave the Franklin Murphy lectures and seminar in 2003 and continued to develop my ideas concerning the seventh century; and last, and most importantly, to the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara; the archaeologists at this institute, especially, at the Asuka-Fujiwarakyō branch, welcomed me every year between 1997 and 2001 at the time the Kibi Pond excavations were being carried out and provided me with detailed explanations of the results as well as research materials. Of the many scholars who helped me there, I would like to especially thank Dr. Ozawa Tsuyoshi, who has been of enormous assistance over the years in all aspects of this project.

Many people have read and commented on earlier versions of the study, including Sherry Fowler, Gregory Levine, Chari Pradel, Jonathan Reynolds, Yoko Shirai, Nancy Steinhardt, Yui Suzuki, Melinda Takeuchi, and Mimi Yiengpruksawan. I greatly appreciate their suggestions and comments, most

of which I have taken, although I fear some have been neglected. At UCLA I have benefited from the support of several colleagues: Fred Notehelfer, Director, and Mariko Bird, Assistant Director, of the Center for Japanese Studies, have consistently and enthusiastically supported my work over a great number of years, and I would like to especially thank both of them. All of the members of the Center have contributed to making UCLA a stimulating environment in which to work. In my own department, Robert Brown, Susan Downey, and Lothar von Falkenhausen have always been ready with encouragement and good advice. David Ziegler and his staff in the Visual Resources Department have been extremely helpful with computer matters. Graduate students in various seminars over the years have also patiently followed the arguments and made useful suggestions as to improvements. Many thanks to the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara, for their assistance with the illustrations, and to Margaret Black and Kathy MacDougal for copyediting and proofreading. At the University of Hawai'i Press I am grateful for the assistance of Keith Leber and, like many people, I am deeply appreciative of Pat Crosby's efforts to encourage publication in our field.

Closer to home, I would like to thank my wife, Toshiko, for her patience and support during the period when this project occupied most of my time.

INTRODUCTION

A VISIT TO THE SITE of any of the Buddhist temples considered in this book can be a profoundly melancholy experience, at least to anyone having a sense of their original role as the Four Great Temples (Yondaiji). These temples are not designated by a modern historical term but rather by one that appears in the ancient texts. The four — Asukadera, Kudara Ōdera, Kawaradera, and Yakushiji — were by far the most important architectural projects of the initial phases of Buddhism in Japan, what I refer to rather broadly as "the seventh century," here defined to include the last decade of the sixth and the first decade of the eighth centuries. Contrasting with the story told by textual sources, precious little remains today of what were certainly the key religious establishments of the early period (ca. 590–710). Foundation stones, a few icons, roof tiles — the scholar must mold such limited material together with the sparse historical records in striving to visualize these temples in anything approaching their ancient splendor. Nevertheless, archaeological investigations have, in recent decades, shown clearly that the status given these temples in the early texts is generally accurate, and there can be no doubt as to their importance during the seventh century. Vexing problems do remain, however, in the interpretation of textual references, with scholars taking varying positions as to their meanings.

In the history of postwar temple archaeology, by far the most stunning results were from the 1956–1957 excavations of the site of Asukadera revealing that the original temple — the first full-scale temple in Japan — had not one but three golden halls.[1] Almost all scholars recognized that these results placed Asukadera as the most significant temple of the Asuka period, although the full implications of this position have often been obscured. The second of our Four Great Temples, Kudara Ōdera, remained the object of only textual research until recently because there was no compelling hypothesis as to its location. Here, too, archaeology may have come to the rescue, for in a series of digs between 1997 and 2001, archaeologists concluded that foundation remains at a site called Kibi Pond (Kibi ike) might, in fact, be those of Kudara Ōdera. While this supposition has yet to be

definitively proven, most authorities have accepted it, and I certainly find it highly likely.

Kawaradera has been extensively excavated over the years, revealing a large-scale temple that clearly was one of the Four Greats. The history of this temple is less fully understood than the other three, but a plausible chronology can be constructed from both documentary sources and excavation results. Finally, several excavations in recent years also have clarified the history of Yakushiji. As will become increasingly obvious in the following chapters, the themes and results of this study would have been impossible without the results of this archaeological fieldwork.

The term "Four Great Temples" itself appears in ancient times, but is not seen in the history on which we will most rely, *Nihon shoki,* compiled in 720 and covering the years up to 697;[2] rather, its initial occurrence is in the second national history, *Shoku Nihongi*, dated 797, in a series of entries between 702 and 707.[3] The first entry, of 702.12.25, states: "They prepared a sacred feast (*ogami*) at the Four Great Temples."[4] As this is only three days after the death of the dowager monarch Jitō (645–702, r. 686–697), scholars have always assumed a direct connection. Early in the next year, on 703.1.5, we are told specifically about rites performed for Jitō: "A sacred feast was performed for the deceased Empress at the Four Temples: Daianji, Yakushiji, Gangōji, and Gufukuji."[5] Although these temples are clearly the four that will be dealt with in this monograph, three of the four are here given their official "Buddhist" names (Daianji = Kudara Ōdera/Daikandaiji; Gangōji = Asukadera; and Gufukuji = Kawaradera), while Yakushiji always had a proper Buddhist name.[6]

A little more than a month later, the forty-ninth day after the death of Jitō, there is a more elaborate order whereby messengers were sent not only to the Four Great Temples, but to thirty-three, including Shitennōji and Yamadadera, the latter two specifically identified.[7] During the third and seventh months of that year, scriptures were read in the Four Great Temples: on the third month, tenth day, the *Dai hannyakyō* was read and one hundred people entered the priesthood; on the seventh month, thirteenth day, the *Konkōmyōkyō*, presumably both readings for the sake of Jitō.[8] A variation is seen on 705.4.3, where there is a reference to the *Konkōmyōkyō* being read at the "Five Great Temples": if the standard group constitutes four of these, we must wonder what the fifth was, and why it was necessary to include one additional temple.[9]

Jitō's successor, Monmu (683–707, r. 697–707), died in the middle of 707, and rites for his sake were ordered at the Four Great Temples from the seventh until the forty-ninth day after his death.[10] All of these entries, related to Jitō and Monmu, clearly establish the contemporaneous usage of the term "Four Great Temples." It remains uncertain, however, when the term was first used, although the frequent association of Tenmu, Jitō, and

Monmu with the four suggests that the grouping probably was established prior to 702. Of course, there were no initial plans to erect four temples; rather, the group formed as a result of building activities in the course of the seventh century.[11]

The seventh century is conceptualized here as being of crucial importance in the development of Japanese Buddhist culture. Since the inception of modern historiography, the Nara period (710–784) has been seen as a sort of golden age in Japanese culture, an idea formed through analogy with the classical civilizations of the Mediterranean and applied especially to the art and architecture of eighth-century Japan.[12] In recent decades great attention has been paid to the very long Heian period (794–1180), a time span that witnessed extraordinary developments in all areas of culture, not least in Buddhism and Buddhist art and architecture. Needless to say, there is no suggestion here that all of this scholarly activity is misplaced; indeed, I have myself worked in these centuries with considerable enthusiasm. Nevertheless, I am saying that the seventh century may not yet have achieved the amount of attention it so clearly deserves. It is not hard to see why this is the case. Nara-period Japan had a very large capital, Heijōkyō, numerous grand temples with a multitude of splendid sculptures, an increasingly centralized government able to exercise authority over broad areas of the country, and significant developments in literature. The Heian period is rich in all aspects of culture, making it well nigh impossible to comprehend its full scope. Kyoto (Heiankyō) was the capital for more than a thousand years, and it goes without saying that many of the crucial aspects of Japanese civilization flowered during the first four centuries of its existence.

Seventh-century Japan is different in kind. During these decades the ruling classes were open to extraordinary new modes of thought and practice, ranging from religious beliefs through technical advances in engineering, law, medicine, and the like. There is a freshness, even a sense of adventure in the seventh century, as the society is gradually transformed from a rather archaic political structure to one close to the level achieved in the kingdoms of the Korean peninsula, especially Silla. Here we are concerned primarily with developments in Buddhism, but it would be a mistake to ignore the influx of other religious traditions during these same years. Although specific dates are given for the "official introduction" of Buddhism (538 or 552), they are not particularly useful, in my opinion; rather, we are dealing not with an *event* but with a *process*, and I believe that this process was similar in the case of the adoption of other religious systems.[13] The idea that there was great opposition to the acceptance of Buddhism, symbolized by the so-called Soga-Mononobe/Nakatomi conflict, about which more will be said later, sheds only minimal light on the actual course of events.

Much of this applies to broad ranges of Japanese society, and I certainly feel that an inclusive approach is desirable. The present study, however,

self-consciously concentrates on elite circles, in fact, on the highest stratum of the elite, and on the four temples directly associated with them. For reasons that will be evident presently, I believe that the construction of these four temples can be roughly related to the four quarters of the seventh century, broadly conceived. Asukadera was begun a decade before the seventh century, but much work was done on it after 600, so I am defining my first quarter (ca. 590–ca. 625) quite loosely. Kudara Ōdera was pledged in 639, and we assume that the construction process continued for some years after that, presumably at least into the 650s. Unfortunately, the dates for the founding of Kawaradera are unrecorded, although the most plausible hypothesis for its inception is ca. 660, with work continuing for twenty or so years after that. Finally, while Yakushiji was vowed in 680, we do not know exactly when construction began, although some parts seem to have been completed by 688; in any event, it was a fully functioning temple by 700, with additional construction extending into the eighth century.

These chronological subdivisions may seem rather arbitrary, but they are intended to highlight an important point: the construction of the four "greatest" temples of early Japan was spread quite evenly over the years and decades, and it appears as if a new building project was not initiated until the preceding one was complete. (There may have been minor overlaps, but in that case the principal work on the earlier temple was completed prior to the beginning of the next.) The substantial resources devoted to building these temples and producing their icons suggest that it was only practical to do one at a time. Moreover, we assume that the very best craftsmen worked on each of the four, so there may not have been comparable crews available for other major projects at the same time.

The focus in this study on the Four Great Temples is intended, of course, to highlight their central importance for the development of Buddhism and Buddhist monuments during the seventh century. This does not mean that there were no other significant temples, since obviously there were, and we shall consider some of them here. Nevertheless, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that these other temples did not have the status of the Four Great Temples during the seventh century. We immediately think of what we now call Hōryūji, the most beautifully preserved of the early temples, since its buildings, icons, and various other treasures constitute one of the main bases for a study of seventh-century art and architecture. Following from this state of affairs, it is easy to assume that "Hōryūji"[14] was a central institution during the seventh century, while in fact it was comparatively minor prior to the formation of the "Shōtoku Taishi" cult in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. A similar situation exists for "Shitennōji" in Osaka, another center of that cult. Excessive concentration on these two Shōtoku-related temples precludes a full and accurate assessment of the

beginnings and development of Buddhism as well as Buddhist art and architecture in early Japan.

Let us consider the types of evidence available for study. Broadly speaking, this evidence can be divided into written sources and material remains. With regard to the former, there are both textual and inscriptional sources; textual sources normally exist in later editions and thus require careful exegesis; inscriptions may be contemporary, but they too require close analysis. Most of the controversies related to our period can be associated with variant interpretations of the documents, sometimes of a quite extreme nature. Material evidence may also be generally subdivided into two categories: architectural structures that exist above ground, such as temples and their icons; and remains below ground, which must be exposed through excavation.

There are several texts that are particularly significant for the present purposes, including *Nihon shoki* (Annals of Japan), and *Shoku Nihongi* (Annals of Japan, continued), both mentioned above, *Gangōji engi* (Historical account of Gangōji), and *Daianji engi* (Historical account of Daianji), both compiled in 747.[15] The two *engi* deal, respectively, with Asukadera and Kudara Ōdera (the original names of the temples). There are no important contemporaneous records for Kawaradera, other than a few entries in *Nihon shoki*. In the case of the last of the Four Great Temples, Yakushiji, an early inscription is preserved, commonly referred to as the *Tōtō satsumeiki* (Inscription on the *satsu* element of the east pagoda), incised on an upper, bronze component *(satsu)* of the east pagoda of the Heijōkyō Yakushiji. This text presents a narrative history of the temple from its inception in Fujiwarakyō; there is also a later *Yakushiji engi* (1015) that provides some useful information.[16]

The fundamental problem we must face is the analysis of the historical validity of these texts. Particularly complicated is the evaluation of information in *Nihon shoki* in relation to that of *Gangōji engi* and *Daianji engi*. If *Nihon shoki* is thought to be the most authentic source, as it often is, then data in the two *engi* could then be studied in comparative terms with *Nihon shoki*, thereby theoretically yielding reliable information. Similarly, the two *engi* could serve as a basis for assessing *Nihon shoki* if it was asserted that they were the more reliable sources. (Or, such a claim could be made for only one and not the other.) Unfortunately, none of these texts can be assumed, a priori, to be more reliable than any of the others, primarily because the writing of each was motivated by the special interests of those who wrote or compiled them. It goes without saying that self-interest is a component of all writing, especially historical narrative, so in that regard *Nihon shoki*, *Gangōji engi*, and *Daianji engi* are in no sense unusual. Nevertheless, I believe it is possible through probing analysis of all pertinent data to come to grips with at least some of the major issues dealt with in these

texts in a way that inspires reasonable confidence in the interpretation put forward.

Large sections of *Nihon shoki*, particularly in the first half, are essentially mythical in content, presenting vivid tales about the age of the gods and of the early "emperors," but this material is not of any interest to us here. Those sections that deal with the fourth and fifth centuries have greater claims for authenticity, although these centuries are also not relevant to this project; with the sixth and seventh centuries, however, we are confronted with much pertinent data, so it is here that our real task begins.

Nihon shoki ends at 697, and most scholars believe the closer an entry is to that year, the greater the possibility of reliability, since 697 is only a little more than two decades earlier than the 720 compilation date for the history. However, when we turn to the end of the sixth century and the first half of the seventh, serious problems emerge, rising largely, in my view, from the ideological conceptions of the compilers; while this matter will occupy us very extensively in the first two chapters, it may be helpful to sketch out some of the main issues here.

At the time that *Nihon shoki* was compiled, the court was deeply interested in asserting the existence of a single imperial line stretching from the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu, to the last monarch it recorded, Jitō tennō.[17] Modern scholars have no illusions about the early "emperors," but the issues become more complex when we reach the reigns of Kinmei, Bidatsu, Yōmei, Sushun, Suiko, and Jomei.[18] As will be described presently in greater detail, the crux of the problem is that during these years, ca. 550–650, the most powerful family in Yamato was not that of the monarch, but rather the Soga family. Since the primacy of this clan did not adhere to the ideological premises of a single line of monarchs governing Yamato,[19] it became necessary to conceal Soga dominance during these years. My considered opinion is that this process was not a result of lack of knowledge or simple error; rather, I perceive a very conscious distortion of the role of the Soga clan, designed to forge a new historical identity for the "imperial" line. This situation will occupy us greatly in Chapter 1 and to a lesser extent in Chapter 2.

Not surprisingly, related problems are encountered in *Gangōji engi* and *Daianji engi*, both compiled in 747 by official command.[20] Although a few decades later than *Nihon shoki*, both *engi* were fabricated within the same general ideological environment; that is to say, the eighth-century conceptualization of a single, all-powerful royal line. In the case of *Gangōji engi*, those sections dealing with the early history of the temple (that is, Asukadera) were written in such a manner that even though Asukadera was unequivocally a Soga temple, the imperial family had to be given substantial credit for patronage there, particularly as pertains to the great sixteen-foot icon said to have been made by Tori busshi. A substantial portion of Chap-

ter 1 will be an attempt to illuminate a story of Asukadera that may be hidden between the lines of *Gangōji engi*; it will deal also with similarities and differences between the accounts in the *engi* and in *Nihon shoki*.

Daianji engi presents similar problems. At the time of its compilation, Daianji, the successor of Kudara Ōdera, was very much interested in aligning the founding of that temple to members of the imperial family of greater significance than Jomei, the putative founder. To that end, the text provides a lengthy narrative describing how the two most prestigious royal figures of the early Asuka period, Empress Suiko and Prince Shōtoku, were connected with the temple, stating that the empress requested the prince to build a great temple and then how, on his deathbed, Shōtoku passed on the order to Prince Tamura, who subsequently met this responsibility during his reign as Jomei by erecting Kudara Ōdera. This part of the text, the so-called Kumagori narrative, will not greatly concern us, but in Chapter 2 we will study the second half of *Daianji engi* in detail in comparison to *Nihon shoki*. Although Japanese scholars have done exceptionally interesting research and publication on these texts, on account of the complexity of the issues it will still be necessary to consider them at length in Chapters 1 and 2.[21]

The third great temple, Kawaradera, lacks an ancient *engi*, so we will have to rely mostly on *Nihon shoki* for data, combined with some informed speculation. The situation of the *Tōtō satsumeiki* of Yakushiji involves quite different factors, so I will reserve analysis of it to Chapter 4. Not so much must be said about *Shoku Nihongi* as it is far more reliable than its predecessor, *Nihon shoki*; in addition *Shoku Nihongi* plays a much less important role in our story than does *Nihon shoki*.[22]

Turning now to the material remains, it is fair to say that the present study would have been impossible to write without the efforts of archaeologists over the last decades. A very extensive body of data has come from the large number of excavations, and we can reasonably assert that our understanding of seventh-century Japan has been fundamentally transformed as a result of this research. Needless to say, just as is the case with texts, so too archaeological data require careful analysis; outright, uncritical acceptance is clearly inappropriate. Although I think that the archaeological information presented in Chapters 1 through 4 is generally very accurate, I am also aware of the pitfalls: for example, errors may be made in the excavation process or faulty interpretations produced; more positively, new excavation may alter or enhance the understanding of a specific site or complex. At a deeper level, archaeologists, like all people, have desires, and it is certainly not beyond the range of possibilities that an archaeologist may find what he or she is seeking, rather than examining the data from an objective perspective.

Much will be said about both temple foundations and roof tiles, since

they provide us with the most crucial data. Ordinarily, it is possible to determine a considerable amount about an abandoned temple through excavations of the foundation remains, including the overall temple plan and precise details concerning the construction of each building. This sort of evidence, while technical in nature, is essential for a clear understanding of the early development of architecture in Japan. In terms of the determination of chronology, roof tiles are an extraordinarily valuable resource; careful study by numerous Japanese specialists has provided an extremely refined sequence of designs that can be dated to the decade and sometimes to the year of production.

In the case of the Four Great Temples, documentary material allows fairly precise placement, but the fact that these placements are confirmed by the roof tile sequence allows greater confidence in the historical reconstruction. This textual and archaeological data may seem rather arcane, but what they tell is, as I hope to show, both significant and fascinating.

In order to situate this study, it may be useful to consider two problems of the early Buddhist period that have most occupied scholars: the dating of the west compound (*saiin*) of "Hōryūji" and the status of the Yakushi triad and east pagoda of Heijōkyō Yakushiji. In both cases, reliance on the documentary sources and whatever other data existed led essentially to an impasse prior to archaeological investigation. I would like to analyze these two controversies in some detail here, since I believe that excessive focus on them has resulted in basic distortions in the understanding of seventh-century Buddhism and Buddhist monuments, a situation that even now has not been fully rectified.

The Hōryūji "rebuilt/not rebuilt" controversy produced an almost endless series of publications from the Meiji period onward, signifying to some degree the beginning of modern art historiography in Japan. As hardly needs repeating, the controversy resulted from a passage in *Nihon shoki*, which stated that the entire temple burned down in 670: those who doubted this entry believed that the present west compound was built during the Asuka period, perhaps founded in 607; the other camp accepted the description of the fire and thus argued that the current structures were built after 670.[23] The implications of these two positions are critical: if built at the onset of the Asuka period (early seventh century) the present golden hall, pagoda, and related structures would be directly associated with the time of Prince Shōtoku (574–622) and place patronage of Buddhism and Buddhist art directly within the "imperial" family at a very early time; if built after 670 the west compound would become one of a number of later seventh-century temples.[24] The problem was solved (for practically everybody) by the excavations of 1939, which revealed the foundations of an earlier temple just to the southeast of the present west compound; the standard "axial" plan of this site, undoubtedly that of Ikaru-

gadera, implied no special significance for the temple at its inception, placing it in a general category of temples directly based on prototypes on the Korean peninsula.[25] As we shall see, recognition of these circumstances and the 1956–1957 excavations of Asukadera tended to shift the discussion of the initial stage of temple construction to Asukadera.[26]

Resulting in an almost equal volume of research and publication has been the debate over the dates of the present east pagoda and the golden hall Yakushi triad of Heijōkyō Yakushiji.[27] Documentary sources imply that Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji was largely complete by the end of the seventh century and also indicate that Yakushiji was transferred to Heijōkyō quite early in the Nara period; a possible conclusion from these data is that the original temple was disassembled and its structures and icons then moved to the new capital. If this were the case, we would have critical evidence of later seventh-century architecture and sculpture available for study at Heijōkyō Yakushiji.[28] Documentary and stylistic analysis led scholars to two basic positions: the icon and pagoda were made at Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji and moved to the Heijōkyō temple *or* were produced for the latter temple after 710. As with the Hōryūji rebuilt/not rebuilt controversy, this also resulted in an impasse. Extensive excavation of the site of Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji in recent years, however, has conclusively demonstrated that construction continued well into the Nara period, thereby indicating that the Fujiwarakyō and Heijōkyō temples continued to function as religious centers simultaneously, presumably both with a full complement of icons. The implications of these results will be discussed in Chapter 4; for the moment I wish only to emphasize the potential value of archaeology in resolving seemingly intractable historical problems.[29]

The preceding discussion may have created the impression that I see the Four Great Temples as somehow standing in splendid isolation, spaced regularly over the years of the first century or so of Buddhism in Japan, with no particular connection with anything else. Nothing could be farther from my viewpoint. A basic element of this study will be the effort to place each of the temples in the broader built environment of their respective periods. This is easier said than done, although intensive research on the early palaces and capitals of Yamato has clarified many important issues of relevance here. In addition, as far as possible, we will attempt to see our temples as they functioned in the wider political, economic, and religious realms.[30]

For the period of Asukadera, the residences associated with the Soga clan are a primary concern with regard to the temple. In contrast to later decades, there does not appear to have been significant interest in a symmetrical, formal organization of the ground plan of the entire complex, so that while the Soga structures display a close proximity between temple

and residence, their placement is in terms of the geographical environment; that is to say, hills and valleys were not considered problematic in the relationship between the various buildings.

Throughout this study, Kudara Ōdera will consistently be more problematic than the other three temples as a result of uncertainty concerning its history and location. Nevertheless, when *Nihon shoki* tells us that Jomei ordered the construction of a great temple and a great palace in 639, we shall see that there is a hint of a more careful organization of the layout. Of course, there is always the possibility that the planning mentioned here is actually a retrospective application of later ideas to the time of Jomei in late-Asuka Japan.

From about the middle of the seventh century, considerably more evidence begins to appear as to the built environment of the Asuka-Fujiwara region within which our temples are located. Scholars have debated the sequence of palaces, recorded in the sources, dating to the decades up to the 690s, although there is now considerable agreement that the various palaces listed for these years were, in fact, essentially at the same general location. Naturally, the palace-capitals at Naniwa and Ōtsu are exceptions, but the important factor is that the center of political authority always returned to Asuka-Fujiwara during the years considered here. Kawaradera probably was integrated with the general palace complex and in that respect begins to show more careful conception of planning than seems to have been the case earlier.[31]

The culmination of this narrative of palace-building is, of course, the single most important architectural undertaking of the seventh century, namely, the conception and construction of the Fujiwara capital.[32] Primarily because of the extraordinary fame of the Heijōkyō (= Nara) capital, less attention has been paid to its seventh-century predecessor than is warranted, although in recent years there has been more focus on the former as a result of significant archaeological research and publication. The Fujiwara capital and palace, like its successors, Heijōkyō, Nagaokakyō, and Heiankyō, was centrally planned in a strict, geometric grid system closely following continental precedents. The temples embedded within this framework — especially Yakushiji — necessarily adhere to the grid and thus can be seen as important components of the overall geomantic and ritual structure of the capital. In fact, with Yakushiji we see what may be called a definitive manifestation of temple-palace relationship, with an exceptionally high degree of symmetry in placement signifying the temple's precisely articulated position within the royal city.[33]

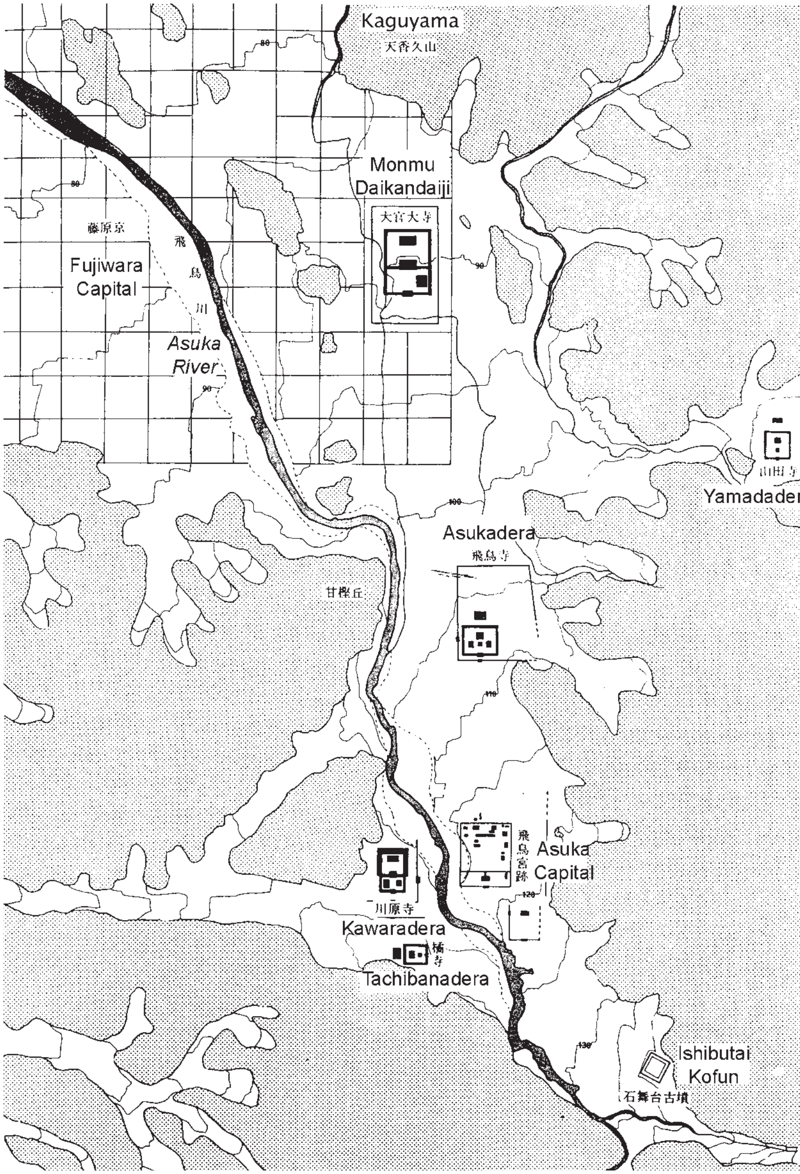
Our focus will be on the tangible, material culture of the period in as much as that culture can be retrieved, either archaeologically or in terms of the documentary evidence. Of course, we will also be concerned with the development of Japanese political and religious elements over the decades

dealt with here. Nevertheless, while I will attend to standard history as far as my knowledge and energy allow, I do wish to stress that I see this project as an attempt to approach some of the historical issues that have long occupied scholars from a significantly different perspective. I believe that many problems that have been dealt with in a rather abstract manner by historians can be seen in a new light when examined within the context of the material environment.

Asuka: Geography and Ideology

The region under discussion is modern Nara Prefecture, equivalent to ancient Yamato Province, but the focus here is more specific, centering on an area to the south of modern Nara City (see map 1). In Chapter 1, on the Soga temple Asukadera, our attention will be directed at the quite narrow valley that constitutes the Asuka region in a strict definition; Chapter 2, on Jomei's Kudara Ōdera, is concerned with the ancient Iware area, to the northeast of Asuka; Chapter 3 returns to Asuka with the placement of Kawaradera to the south of Asukadera, at the southern edge of Asuka; and Chapter 4 considers the placement of Yakushiji within the grid structure of the new capital, Fujiwarakyō. Many structures, including large temples and palaces, were crowded together in the small Asuka valley, although it is fair to say that its historical significance is far greater than its size. At the western edge of the Asuka valley is a famous hill, Amakashi no oka, that is the principal landmark of the area, and behind are the larger Yoshino mountains. Directly to the north of Asuka is a broad plain bounded by three relatively small mountains: Unebiyama to the west, Miminashiyama to the north, Kaguyama to the east. It was earlier thought that Fujiwarakyō was entirely enclosed by the "Three Mountains" — Unebi, Miminashi, and Kagu — but it is now known that the ancient Fujiwarakyō extended out beyond their embrace.[34]

The Asuka/Fujiwara area is renowned for its scenic beauty, with gently rolling hills, sparkling streams and rivers, and green, fertile agricultural land; the same might be said for ancient Heijōkyō or Heiankyō, although some of the charm of our area is based on its quite intimate, small-scale geography. Fortunately, a combination of relative distance from major economic centers and an early recognition of its historical importance led to conservation policies that have prevented the incursions of suburban blight that have damaged so many other places in Japan. The degree of preservation is not perfect, and the visitor must still cope with occasionally poorly placed soft-drink vending machines, but a little exercise of historical imagination does allow that visitor to visualize, if only partially, the ambience of the seventh century. I do not wish to become overly romantic here: Asuka/Fujiwara is located in a modern environment, with the relatively large cities



Map 1. Asuka and Fujiwara area

of Kashihara, Yagi, and Sakurai adjoining it, and tightly packed housing developments encroaching on its borders. Nevertheless, Asuka/Fujiwara remains, more than the other capital settings, relatively untouched, despite the changes that must have occurred between the seventh and twenty-first centuries.

The larger mountains directly to the south form a slight barrier to communication; it is from these that streams and rivers flow, particularly the

Asuka River, which runs in a generally southeast to northwest direction across the plain, becoming one of the area's major landmarks. The three mountains of Yamato, referred to above, function more as delineating points rather than as barriers, since the traveler can easily walk around them; actual barriers are further to the west and east. While communication to the west, north, and east is not especially taxing, Asuka/Fujiwara was a relatively enclosed, self-sufficient area. Certainly people moved in and out for political, economic, religious, and other reasons, but they seem to have been quite content to dwell in this pleasant land during most parts of the sixth and seventh centuries.

The Asuka region occupies a special position in Japanese history as conceived of in the modern period. Clare Fawcett has presented a careful analysis of this situation, emphasizing the ways in which government and business interests have worked to construct an ideological scheme based in part on Asuka, designed to influence the formation of Japanese identity.[35] She traces a number of postwar developments connected with this strategy, such as the privately funded Asuka Preservation Foundation (Asuka Hozon Zaidan, 1971) and governmental efforts including the establishment of national parks and the building of the Asuka Historical Museum (Asuka Shiryōkan, 1975).

I would like to comment briefly on the Asuka Historical Museum; those who have visited it know that it has attractive, permanent displays, illustrating the history of the region from the late Kofun period to the seventh century. Particular attention is paid to technological developments, such as a complicated water clock, that tend to illustrate advances and innovations in fields such as engineering. Additionally, there are regular special exhibitions, often focusing on the most interesting and spectacular recent excavations. The overall impression created by the museum is of substantial progress as Japan assumed an important position in the broader East Asian cultural sphere, circumstances that presumably create a feeling of pride in the lay audience. Not surprisingly, there is no mention of any of the darker aspects of early society, and to that extent it may be seen as lacking in historical objectivity.

From an archaeological and historical perspective, a key role has been played by the Nara National Cultural Properties Research Institute (Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, abbreviated in this study to Nabunken) founded in 1952. In its early stages, the Institute facilities were located only in Nara City, although important excavations were also carried out in the Asuka-Fujiwara region, especially at Asukadera (1956–1957) and Kawaradera (1957–1958), the topics of chapters one and three. As research became considerably more active, a branch of the Institute, the Division of the Asuka-Fujiwara Palace Sites Excavations (Asuka-Fujiwara miya ato hakkutsu chōsa bu) was established in 1973. This division has carried out

excavations, not just of palace sites as the name suggests, but also of temples and tombs. Staffed by a large group of professional archaeologists and with excellent faciities to carry out research, the activities of this Institute have the greatest significance for the present book.

The years between 1956 and ca. 2000 were a sort of golden age for archaeology in the Asuka-Fujiwara region. Numerous important sites were investigated, yielding many new insights into the history of seventh-century Japan. However, with the serious problems in the Japanese economy during the 1990s, governmental organizations such as museums and research institutes faced their own financial problems, culminating in a type of privatization designed to control costs. Thus, the Nara National Cultural Properties Research Institute was redesignated in 2001 as the Independent Administrative Institute, Nara Research Institute for Cultural Properties (Dokuritsu gyōsei hōjin, Nara bunkazai kenkyūjo), with the term "National" deleted.[36] As an example of belt-tightening, the *Annual Bulletin* had appeared three times a year until the year 2000, but was reduced to a single issue each year starting in 2001. The full implications of these changes remain to be seen, but it is clear that the research institute will now devote substantial efforts to gaining public support for their programs.

Although not a new development, the On-site Explanation Meetings (*genchi setsumei kai*) have become a crucial aspect of the Institute's activities, often drawing thousands of visitors and receiving extensive coverage in the media, both print and TV. They occur at the end of an excavation campaign with a format including a general description of the major results and the distribution of explanatory descriptive material; needless to say, such events are extremely effective in garnering support for archaeological work. Another example of this sort of activity is the special exhibition, a key example of which is the 2002 Asuka-Fujiwara Capital Exhibition (Asuka-Fujiwarakyō ten) celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Nara (National) Research Institute for Cultural Properties.[37] Curiously, the show was titled in English "The Birth of 'Nippon': The Asuka and Fujiwara Capitals," although the Japanese title says nothing about the "Birth of Nippon." This exhibition contained a wide range of important and interesting objects, but it was evident that a principal goal was to offer an experience that would be appealing to a lay audience; for example, there were models reconstructing the battles of the Jinshin Disturbance (Jinshin no ran) and showing the armor of ancient warriors. Clearly, stress was not placed on purely academic research, and it seems likely that this sort of popularization will become increasingly popular.

Our reactions to these strategies of popularization should perhaps be nuanced and somewhat sympathetic. There is an enormous interest in Japan in ancient archaeology, with any of the larger bookstores having many

shelves devoted to the subject. A few of the volumes on display are technical in character, but the vast majority are obviously produced for the lay audience; significantly, a large number is devoted to the seventh century, and it is evident that this era engages the interests of many readers. Fawcett and others see an effort of the part of governmental and political elites to utilize Asuka as one element in the formation of national identity, and I am sure there is some truth to this. Nevertheless, I also think there are broader intellectual concerns motivating the "archaeology boom" — after all, results of compelling interest have been achieved by serious archaeologists working in the Asuka-Fujiwara region, and it should not be surprising that these engage the attention of so many readers. Additionally, I believe that in many respects the eighth-century capital, Heijōkyō (present Nara) and Hōryūji, are far more crucial to ideologically based efforts to forge a sense of national identity. While it is true there is a limited amount of reconstruction of Asuka-Fujiwara palace and temple sites, such effort palls in comparison to the enormous resources devoted to the rebuilding of Heijōkyō. A problem that arises when a site such as a temple is excavated is what to do when the work is finished. Archaeologists generally prefer to rebury the remains, leaving only a sign with a short text and plan to document their efforts. There is, however, pressure to make such sites permanently accessible, as we will see in the case of Kawaradera, where the foundations of the temple have been reconstructed in a way that enables visualization of the original form.

An extreme example of temple reconstruction can be seen at the Nara location of Yakushiji, where a project to rebuild all of the major buildings in what is thought to be their original forms is nearing completion; significantly, the Yakushiji project has absolutely nothing to do with restoration, since the previous buildings have been torn down to be replaced by entirely new structures.[38] The greatest of the eighth-century temples, Tōdaiji, plays a key role in the creation of a glorious image of Japan, with its numerous halls and Buddhist icons, and of course the treasures of the Shōsōin are central to this evocation of splendor; an extremely large number of people visit the temple each year as well as seeing the related exhibitions at the Nara National Museum. Similarly, Hōryūji has far more visitors each year than any of the Asuka temples (probably more than all of the Four Great Temples together) and is considered by the vast majority of Japanese as the most important early temple, particularly on account of the putative role of Prince Shōtoku.

All of this is not to minimize the issues concerning Asuka dealt with by Fawcett, but only to suggest that there are other, and perhaps more important, locales for the creation of Japanese national identity. Be that as it may, I doubt very much that the ruins of the Four Great Temples play a

significant role in the process, and I would even argue that the story this book will tell runs contrary to many aspects of the dominant ideology, especially in the case of the first, Asukadera.

Historical Background prior to the Four Great Temples

Human inhabitation has long existed in Asuka/Fujiwara, but it is with the Kofun period (ca. 250–600 CE) that we begin to see the sorts of economic, political, and cultural developments that form the background for the present study, and so some attention must now be paid to those centuries.

The presence of very large tombs, more advanced tools and weapons, and other objects can be interpreted as evidence for a steady enhancement of political power centered in elite groups. This development can be observed in the great tombs of both Osaka and Nara prefectures and also, to a lesser extent, in other areas of the Japanese islands. The process of the centralization of political authority and the concomitant concentration of economic resources is not fully understood, although by the fifth century there is evidence for well-developed political elites able to exercise their authority over substantial parts of the population. Traditionally, the process has been conceptualized as the growth of an imperial institution, although I take a somewhat different perspective in this study.[39]

The political situation in the later fifth century remains vague, and it would appear that various powerful clans were fighting for dominance. Orthodox history sees a monarch, subsequently designated as Yūryaku, as dominant during the third quarter of the century; following his period there seems to have been a time of chaos, when no political group was able to claim supremacy. In this orthodox account, the following "emperors" are listed after Yūryaku: Seinei, Kenzō, Ninken, and Buretsu, but no scholar claims to know very much about any of these enigmatic figures and we may just as well ignore them as historical realities.[40]

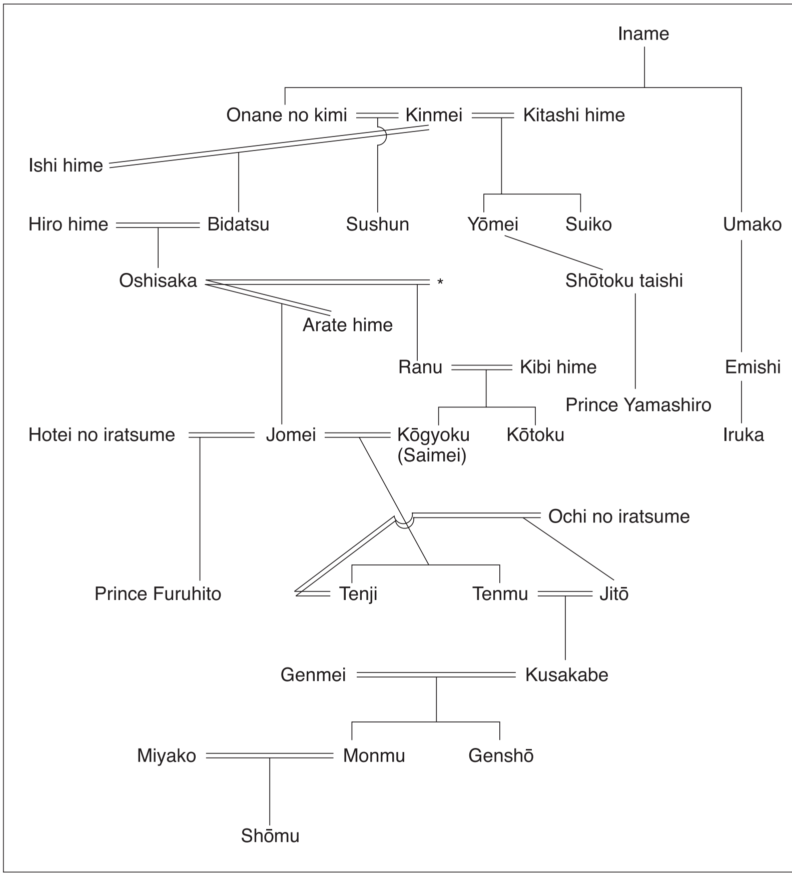
The first quarter of the sixth century is dominated by a king referred to posthumously as Keitai; the fluid nature of the so-called "imperial" institution at this time is made clear by his lineage. He apparently came from a powerful clan located outside of the central area, and his supporters also seem to have been largely from the provinces. Nevertheless, the compilers of *Nihon shoki* had to link Keitai with the largely legendary imperial lineage, and so imperial ancestors were discovered for Keitai several generations prior to his time. A skeptical observer may be excused for wondering if virtually all members of the elite could trace their pedigree in this manner, thereby rendering the imperial lineage as a convenient construct, at least during these years. Be that as it may, it does seem as if some sort of inchoate royal court was forming around Keitai and his allies. And yet the

fluidity of the situation is again made clear by how the succession is described; following Keitai, there are two more enigmatic "emperors," Ankan and Senka. As was the case with the "Seinei to Buretsu" group, essentially nothing is known about Ankan and Senka, and doubts even have been raised concerning their very existence.[41]

Rather than a personalized narrative, probably a functional analysis of these decades would be more productive. Granting the tangible existence of Yūryaku and Keitai, it still seems clear that nothing much emerges from a focus on the majority of the so-called "emperors." Consequently, I believe it is more fruitful to see the increased centralization of authority in a relatively small group of powerful clans. In an important sense all, or most, of these clans could be designated as royal; the eighth-century formulation was based on the success of one clan that was able to establish its primacy during the later seventh century. Presumably some other clan, if it had achieved dominance, would have been designated as the "imperial" line.

Who the next king, Kinmei (?–ca. 570), succeeded is uncertain, but for our specific purposes the story of Buddhism in Japan always begins with his reign, since it is during these years that Buddhism is said to have come "officially" to the islands. Following the paradigm stated above, I will recognize the historical existence of Kinmei and work under the assumption that he presided over a court made up of noble families of status roughly equal to his own line. It seems certain that there were, by this time, institutional structures able to deal appropriately with foreign elements, such as a new religion.[42]

We should keep in mind that Buddhism and Buddhist art are such central components of Japanese culture that it is difficult for us to conceive of a time when they were not present, at least during the historical period. While there was probably no significant presence of Buddhism in Japan during the fifth century, perhaps travelers to the continent would have seen Buddhist priests, temples, and images, and spoken of them when they returned home. With the sixth century, however, focus shifts to events within the Japanese islands, particularly the so-called official introduction of Buddhism, said to have resulted from a gift of Buddhist icons and other objects from King Sŏng of Paekche (Kudara) to "Emperor" Kinmei of Japan in either 538 or 552. While the historicity of this event need not be discussed here, we should note that from the putative beginnings of Buddhism in Japan there is an explicit association of the religion with the imperial institution. I believe this association was constructed — or at least enhanced — by the imperial ideologues who compiled *Nihon shoki* in the eighth century.[43] The fact that Kinmei, after "leaping with joy" on receiving the gift, then consigned it all to the leader of the Soga clan, Soga no Iname, does not really distract from the notion that Buddhism passes



Genealogy 1. The Ōkimi and Ōomi lines

through the hands of the emperor when it first arrived. More will be said about the role of the Soga presently, but for the moment it might be best to continue our discussion of the "imperial" line.

During the reigns of Kinmei's successors, Bidatsu (r. 572–585) and Yōmei (r. 585–587), there are crucial references to "imperial" connections with Buddhism: Bidatsu is said to have been unfavorably disposed toward the religion, whereas Yōmei was a supporter. In fact, their respective attitudes are highlighted in *Nihon shoki* by being the first entries in their annals after the short genealogical sentences. With regard to Bidatsu, *Nihon shoki* states: "The Emperor was not a believer in Buddhism, but was fond of literature."[44] And for Yōmei it says: "The Emperor believed in the Law of Buddha, and reverenced the Way of the Gods."[45]

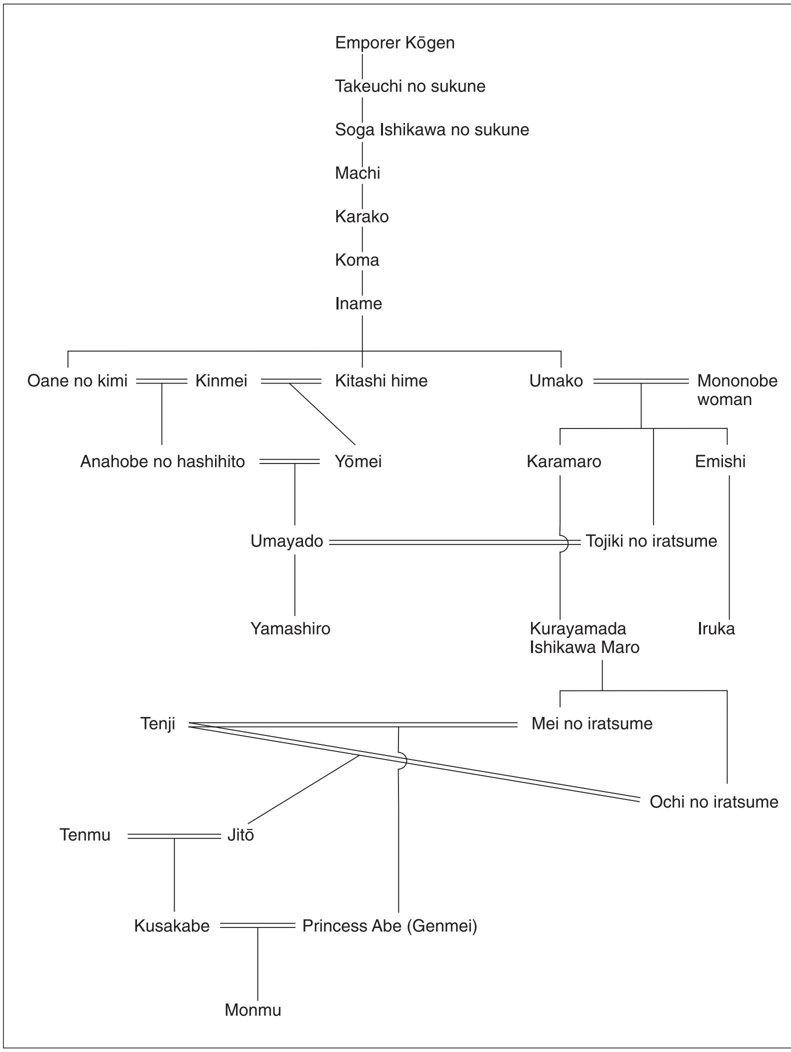
Obviously the importance attributed to the attitudes toward Buddhism of these two monarchs has critically informed subsequent discussions of the development of the religion in Japan, because such statements create a

strong impression that rejection or acceptance of Buddhism was a burning issue at court during the later decades of the sixth century.

Despite all the crucial events concerning Buddhism said to have taken place under the next monarch, Sushun (r. 587-92), there is no characterization of his attitude toward Buddhism. One possibility (discussed in Chapter 1) is that, as he is treated as an enemy of Soga no Umako, it was not considered appropriate to associate Sushun himself with the religion.

From the middle of the sixth century until the middle of the seventh, the most important family in terms of political power was that designated as the Soga. The origins of the Soga clan are shrouded in mystery, making it almost impossible to delineate their early history with any degree of confidence. Traditional sources provide largely mythical lineages extending back to a nonhistorical individual, Takeuchi no sukune, said to be himself a descendent of one of the early "emperors." Following him is Soga no Ishikawa no sukune, who appears to be a composite constructed by combining two names — Soga and Ishikawa — both of which are important for the lineage under consideration. I would like to stress here that there is absolutely no historical evidence for these two figures, and they are cited only to make the point that this clan, like most others, fabricated a very prestigious ancestry as justification for their political roles.[46]

Machi, the next person in the traditional lineage, is followed by Karako, Koma, and Iname; there is no question about the historicity of Iname, although serious problems exist with regard to his immediate predecessors. Karako and Koma have names directly related to political entities of the Korean peninsula, making it only natural to assume they had some specific connections with that neighboring region.[47] What about Machi? Most scholars assume he was the real founder of the Soga line, at least in the context of its status as a powerful clan; beyond that there is strong diversity of opinion as to his origins. Traditionalists argue that he belonged to a "Japanese" family (that is, not an immigrant family) that became increasingly influential in the later part of the sixth century. The unorthodox approach, championed by Kadowaki Teiji, is that Machi was a Korean nobleman who moved to the Japanese islands around 475, quickly becoming one of the most influential leaders of the time. Kadowaki offers a complex and highly intriguing theory, arguing that the Machi under discussion here is the same person as Moku Machi, an important official in Paekche in the later fifth century. This theory, which has been harshly criticized by many Japanese scholars, appears to have fallen out of favor in recent years; in any event, it is not necessary to solve this problem here. Nevertheless, there are still convincing grounds for assuming that the Soga clan had strong ties with the Korean peninsula, especially Paekche, either because of their ancestry or because of their close relationship with the Paekche elite. Of course, if there



Genealogy 2. The Soga line

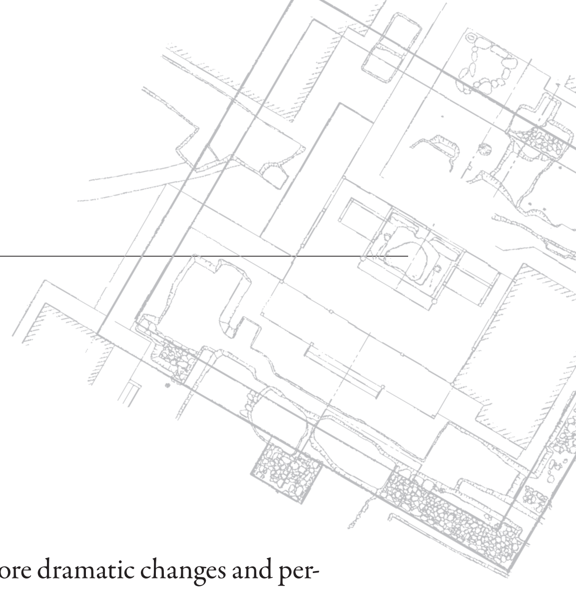
is any validity in Kadowaki's theory, Machi may have been active around the time of Yūryaku, while his descendents Karako and Koma would be similarly enigmatic as the "emperors" following Yūryaku. If this hypothesis is to be consistent, we would also have to locate a "Soga" who paralleled "Emperor" Keitai, active in about the first quarter of the sixth century.[48]

As noted above, there are significant problems in tracing the predecessor(s) of Kinmei, and the same problems may be visible in the case of the first clearly historical Soga, Iname. Soga no Iname held the title of *ōomi*, while the leader of what came to be the imperial family held the title of *ōkimi*. The compilers of *Nihon shoki* asserted a strongly hierarchical relationship between the two terms, with *ōomi* having the sense of "great min-

ister," the rank traditionally thought to be the highest rank other than that of *ōkimi* or "great king." In my view there is a distinct likelihood that the compilers did this in order to subordinate the Soga and enhance the imperial institution as constructed during the later seventh and early eighth centuries. Be that as it may, quite clearly the Soga clan, and their leader, Soga no Iname, were the most powerful group from the middle decades of the sixth century.

During these years the Soga clan appears to have been especially active in furthering contacts with the continent. They were apparently more open to new ideas and things, an openness that must have been due in large part to their strong connections with the Korean peninsula and especially Paekche. Needless to say, it was for this reason that they played the central role in the furthering of Buddhism in later sixth-century Japan. Although there was a strong effort on the part of the Nara idealogues to transfer credit for such things to the so-called imperial line, the role of the Soga was so well known that it could not have been entirely erased. This is the reason why the "official" introduction of Buddhism is directly associated with Iname, even though it was stated that Kinmei was initially responsible. In the next chapter we will see how the Soga, under Soga no Umako and other leaders, utilized Buddhism for their own purposes, a tendency that may have begun at the time of Iname.

Iname died around 570, about the same time as Kinmei; however, in contrast to the series of short "reigns" following the latter's death, Iname was succeeded by his son, Umako, who remained in power until 626, some fifty years. The degree to which Bidatsu, Yōmei, and Sushun had personal political authority is uncertain, although I believe it is likely that they served in a more symbolic than governmental role. The fact that *Nihon shoki* treats the "emperors" as central is simply a result of their clan's success in asserting its primacy in the latter half of the seventh century; as noted above, if some other clan had achieved this primacy, *they* would now be seen as the imperial lineage. While nobody doubts the power of the Soga, many scholars will disagree with the analysis presented here, continuing to maintain that there was a distinct ruling family — the *ōkimi* — who were served by the *ōomi*. Since my goal is not to write a political history of early Japan, it is not necessary to reach a definitive conclusion on these matters; rather, it is enough to understand when and how the Soga achieved their dominant position and how that contributed to their patronage of Buddhism. And with that in mind, it is time to turn to the extraordinary temple built by the Soga, Asukadera, the first of the Four Great Temples.



Chapter One

ASUKADERA

IN JAPANESE HISTORY few periods saw more dramatic changes and perhaps none is more controversial than the five decades between ca. 580 and 630. Evidently the historians who compiled *Nihon shoki* (720) fully realized that this was an era of fundamental importance for an understanding of the political and social development of their country, and thus great efforts were exerted in constructing a narrative that would tell the story in the way they wished it told. Here serious problems emerge, since their story did not always coincide with events and tendencies that would appear to have been determinative in the formation of the Yamato state, the adoption of Buddhism, and the development of insular civilization in general. The basic issue is the relative position of the "royal" clan and the Soga clan, and until this is clarified little progress can be made in the analysis of these years. Of course, *Nihon shoki* was written from the perspective of the royal clan, and we would not expect it to cast the Soga in a favorable light.

Historical Introduction

While the narrative in this chapter centers on the vowing, construction, and utilization of a single temple, I will demonstrate that all of the key figures of this time either were directly associated with the process or were believed by some to have had such an association; consequently, it can be shown that the history of Asukadera is a microcosm illuminating the larger picture. Of course, the people I am referring to are Empress Regnant Suiko (r. 593–628), Prince Stable Door (Umayado no ōji, also known as Crown Prince Saintly Virtue, Shōtoku Taishi, 574–622), and Soga no Umako (?–626), the leader of the Soga family. During their lifetimes Yamato began its transformation from a relatively backwater region to a state plausibly aiming for respect on the peninsula and even in China, and so we must now turn to their careers.[1]

The Introduction considered the "imperial line" through the period of

Sushun, that is, to the stage just at the beginning of the production of Buddhist monuments. During the reign of Sushun's successor, Suiko, considerably more activity took place in the Buddhist realm, and we can plausibly assert that the early maturity of the religion in Japan was at the end of the sixth century and the first quarter of the seventh. For this reason, some earlier writers actually referred to the initial phase of Buddhist art in Japan as the "Suiko period," even though there is no evidence that Suiko herself was directly associated with either the religion or the production of art. Once again, the compilers of *Nihon shoki* labored to create the impression that Suiko was personally responsible for policies and action that clearly were those of the Soga leaders and their followers.[2]

The career of Prince Stable Door is too complex to be analyzed here in enough detail to penetrate through the mists of the historical obfuscation that have prevented an accurate understanding of the early development of Buddhism in Japan.[3] Essentially, the compilers of *Nihon shoki,* in searching for a member of the imperial clan to whom could be attributed the credit for the establishment of Buddhism in Japan, hit upon the princeling who, we must assume, had some sort of connection with the practice of Buddhism, perhaps through the family of one of his wives. The "Shōtoku Taishi myth" began developing in the later seventh century, with the result that by the Nara and Heian periods the prince had been transformed into a culture hero, both the founder of Japanese Buddhism and a sort of father of the Japanese imperial state. This mythological transformation conveniently solved the problem of Suiko's noninvolvement in Buddhism, for it could be suggested that as "crown prince," Stable Door had the freedom to put into effect those policies that Suiko herself is asserted to have privately supported.[4]

By this stage in our narrative, we witness the development of a full-blown imperial ideology with regard to the early patronage of Buddhism in Japan, an ideology that otherwise objective scholars have experienced great difficulties in overcoming. The more cautious recognize that there was no direct "imperial" patronage of Buddhism during the reign of Suiko: for example, there are no records of Suiko commissioning a royal temple. Nevertheless, as is the nature of ideological constructs, the impression lingers that there *must* have been some sort of royal support for Buddhism, even though its actual nature cannot by specified.

An accurate comprehension of what transpired during the reign of Suiko is further complicated by the historiography of the early temple projects, including Asukadera, Hōryūji, Shitennōji, and a few others. Although this is not generally recognized, the *only* early temple for which accurate data exist is Asukadera, since we know who established it, when and why, how it was laid out and constructed, and what sorts of icons it likely contained. In contrast, little is known about the initial stages of Hōryūji (= Ikaru-

gadera): we do not know who founded it, when, or why, although we do know that there was an original site, slightly to the southeast of the present west compound, which, presumably, was built early in the seventh century. What icons were contained in this temple is also unknown. In fact, despite the key importance of present-day Hōryūji, essentially nothing is certain about its beginnings. The same can be said about Shitennōji. Recognition of the disparity in information between the directly Soga-related temple (Asukadera) and those traditionally associated with Prince Stable Door (for example, Hōryūji and Shitennōji) should alert us to the fact that we are on quite sound foundations in dealing with Soga patronage of Buddhism, but on very shaky ground with regard to so-called royal patronage.[5]

Careful scholarly investigation has made clear that the real patrons of Buddhism in its initial developmental stages in Japan were members of the dominant Soga clan, especially the son of Iname, Soga no Umako. Close connections between Umako and Buddhism can be seen in *Nihon shoki* from 584; in that year two envoys return from Paekche bearing Buddhist icons: Kafuka no omi a stone image of Miroku and Saeki no muraji an image identified only as a buddha. Umako receives both icons, although later we only hear of the stone Miroku. Since he now has Buddhist icons, Umako organizes a search for a Buddhist priest, finding one in Harima Province, apparently a person who has returned to lay status after having previously been a priest. He is called Eben (Kor. Hye'pyŏn), and a nun, named Hōmei (Kor. Pŏpmyŏng), is also located. They are said to have been the teachers of three girls who become nuns: the leader, Shimame, the daughter of Shiba no Tatto; Toyome, the daughter of Aya no Hoshi; and Ishime, the daughter of Nishigori no Tsubo; they are also referred to by their Buddhist names, Zenshin, Zenzō, and Ezen, respectively.[6] Noteworthy is the fact that the three families (Shiba, Aya, and Nishigori) are of immigrant lineage, all presumably with close connections to the Soga.[7] Also important is the fact that the first "Japanese" religious are all women; Tamura has suggested that they were probably shamans, called in to serve the new deity.[8] In thinking about religion in Yamato, we must keep in mind that the practices of this period would have been highly eclectic, and there certainly would not have been any general understanding of the teachings of Buddhism as contained in the scriptures. Too often a picture of a developed form of Buddhism is projected back to the Asuka period, with the inevitable result that the true situation is distorted.

Umako is recorded as erecting a Buddhist temple east of his residence, where the stone image of Miroku was enshrined. He further orders the three nuns to carry out religious ceremonies, although it seems unlikely that they would have had much knowledge of Buddhist practice at this stage. In any event, these details were intended to indicate the close association of Umako with Buddhism. The narrative continues with the discovery

of a relic, which Umako tries to destroy to no avail; since the relic miraculously passes this test, his faith in Buddhism is strengthened and results in the building of another temple at his Ishikawa mansion (Ishikawa taku).[9]

On 585.2.15 Umako erects a pagoda near Ōno Hill (Ōno no oka), holds a religious ceremony, and enshrines the relic obtained the previous year on top of the central shaft of the pagoda. However, a few days later (2.24), Umako becomes ill and consults a diviner as to the cause of this illness; he is told that it is the result of a curse sent by the Buddha. After conferring with the emperor, Umako is told to continue worshiping the stone image, which he does with great piety.[10]

How should this narrative be understood? Certainly, it is strange that in the course of less than ten days the situation changes so drastically from the triumphal erection of pagoda and enshrining of relics to an apparently life-threatening disease plaguing Umako. Evidently, this juxtaposition is intended to build dramatic intensity toward the general pestilence described at the beginning of the next month (3.1), a pestilence attributed to Umako's worship of the Buddha by Mononobe no Moriya and Nakatomi no Katsumi, putative enemies of the foreign deity. Symbolically encapsulated in this short, two-week period is the broader conflict between the opponents and supporters of Buddhism. Not surprisingly, the opponents receive permission from the emperor to terminate Buddhism, which they do by first destroying temples and icons and then, to top it off, arresting the three nuns and flogging them in the market place.[11]

Since the narrative is pro-Buddhist, we next learn that the pestilence has spread more widely, and the people begin to wonder if this is the result of the destruction of the Buddhist icon. Umako speaks with the emperor, who orders him to worship the Buddha privately; additionally, the three nuns are returned to Umako, who deeply regrets the humiliation they have suffered.

It is significant to note that the *Nihon shoki* coverage of Bidatsu's fourteenth year (585.2.15–8.15) relates primarily to Buddhism, with well over half of the text directly related to the matter and some of the other sections indirectly related. Again, we must ask why. In my view, this narrative was probably drawn from Soga family documents recounting the early controversy concerning the acceptance of the religion, since it was they who are the principal proponents. If such documents were utilized by the editors of *Nihon shoki* in the early eighth century, it would be necessary, on the basis of their ideological stance, to give Bidatsu a central role, and so that is why we read of him giving various commands to Umako. Apparently the only event not associated with Buddhism that the compilers were able to find was an effort to recover Mimana, and even this is embedded within the plague narrative since the envoy cannot be dispatched on account of illness.[12]

The annals of the following year (Yōmei 1–586) are concerned almost exclusively with a complicated succession dispute, with very little material on Buddhism. In 587, however, Yōmei becomes ill and states that he wishes to adopt Buddhism as his religion. Such an "adoption" appears unlikely at this early stage, and we must conclude that Yōmei's Buddhism was added retrospectively to the text in order to emphasize patronage of the religion by the royal family. We are then told that the Mononobe and Nakatomi strongly oppose this decision, while the Soga lend their support. Around the time Yōmei is about to die, Shiba no Tasuna vows to enter the Buddhist order and construct a sixteen-foot (*jōroku*) icon for the sake of the emperor.[13] Following the death of Yōmei, Sushun ascends the throne, his reign beginning with the last six months of 587. It is during these months that the final struggle between the Mononobe/Nakatomi forces and the Soga over the acceptance of Buddhism occurs, with the complete triumph of the latter.[14]

Another narrative from Soga sources is recorded in a 587.6.9 entry, when Zenshin and her followers request permission to travel to Paekche in order to study Buddhism and receive proper ordination. Significantly, this request is made directly to Umako. In this analysis of *Nihon shoki* I have attempted to maintain a skeptical attitude, always searching for possible underlying motives in any given account. This methodology is especially salient in dealing with the "imperial" line, as one of the primary goals of the compilers was to enhance that line's accomplishments vis-à-vis the Soga. Consequently, when specific details are directly associated with the Soga, such as the account of the three nuns, there seems to be little reason for doubt, since there would be no motivation for the compilers to falsify this sort of narrative. Thus when we are told that the nuns were sent to Paekche in 588 and returned in 590, I believe that we can be quite confident of the validity of these details for, as just noted, they take place entirely within a Soga framework.[15]

Umako's triumph in 587 was marked by the subject of the present chapter, the construction of the first full-scale temple in Japan, Asukadera, which served both as clan temple of the Soga and as the center for the new religion in Japan. Although the compilers of *Nihon shoki* attempted to transfer some of the credit for Asukadera to the imperial court, objective analysis of the data reveals that it was entirely a Soga project.[16]

Studies of Japanese Buddhism and Buddhist art have generally concentrated on the Ikaruga area, where Hōryūji is located;[17] on Nara, the site of many great eighth-century temples such as Kōfukuji, Tōdaiji, and Saidaiji;[18] and on Kyoto, the capital from 794 until 1868, and the locale for over a millennium of activities in the realms of Buddhism and Buddhist art.[19] Some attention is also paid to Kamakura and a few other provincial centers such as Hiraizumi[20] and northern Kyushu, but the focus always

remains, not surprisingly or even inappropriately, on the Kinai region, including, in addition to Nara and Kyoto, the modern prefectures of Wakayama, Hyōgo, and Shiga. Elsewhere I have explored in some detail the characteristics of an icon tradition not associated with a capital, but here I would like to grapple with those issues associated with developments in the center rather than the periphery.[21]

A central feature of Buddhism in early Japan is the degree to which the political authorities were involved in the management of clergy and temples.[22] The first real evidence for the control of clergy is seen in a *Nihon shoki* entry of 624.[23] There we are told that a member of the Kuratsukuri lineage, Kuratsukuri no Tokushaku, was appointed as one of the three supervisors of Buddhist monks and nuns. *Nihon shoki* relates a strange story about a crazed monk who strikes his paternal grandfather with an ax, thereby offending Empress Suiko, who is about to order severe punishments for the religious. Kanroku (Kor. Kwallŭk), a monk from Paekche, pleads for mercy for the Buddhist clergy, and the final outcome of this sordid event is the appointment of Kanroku himself as *sōjō*, Kuratsukuri no Tokushaku as *sōzu*, and Azumi no muraji as *hōtō*. Clearly, this unusual tale screens the political reality behind the government's efforts to control effectively the increasingly powerful Buddhist establishment. The fact that a member of the Kuratsukuri clan was appointed to the second highest administrative position is indicative of both his prominence and the need of the clan to exercise tight control over the Buddhist church. Particularly important for our story is the fact that all available evidence suggests that in situations such as this the Kuratsukuri were acting directly as agents for the ruling Soga clan.[24]

Directly following this scandalous story is an entry describing the first official survey of temples, monks, and nuns.[25] In the case of the monks and nuns, the investigation is supposed to determine the circumstances under which they entered the clergy, together with the day, month, and year of their entry. *Nihon shoki* informs us that there were 46 temples, 816 monks, and 569 nuns. A full analysis of these data cannot be presented here, although at least some of the relevant questions can be broached. Perhaps most important are the geographical parameters, as we immediately wonder just exactly where these temples and clerics were located. Since the "court" — Soga or royal, depending on one's perspective — clearly did not control much territory outside of the Yamato region, it is natural to assume that the 46 temples were clustered in the Asuka basin and surrounding areas. What about the number of clergy? The number 1,385 people yields an average of slightly over 30 clergy per temple, which seems high, even if we assume that larger temples, such as Asukadera, had many more clergy than smaller establishments. Given the early stage of Buddhist practice in Japan, perhaps not all of these individuals were thought of as priests or nuns. We may suspect that

the vast majority were people connected with the temples in roles ranging from guards and servants to administrators and officials. A final question, of course, is just who ordered this investigation? The reader will not be surprised if I maintain that it has all of the characteristics of a Soga policy, although further analysis is necessary.[26]

Asukadera and Its Architecture

In the Introduction, I discussed the natural environment of Asuka, and here a few words are necessary concerning the structures near Asukadera. During the later sixth and early seventh century there does not yet seem to be anything that might be referred to specifically as a "capital." Rather, members of the ruling class lived in mansions or palaces that must have served as both residences and offices. The founder of Asukadera, Soga no Umako, had a large mansion called Shima no shō, said to have been built on a scale similar to the royal residence. In fact, one of the main criticisms of the Soga was that they were building in a splendor appropriate to the royal house; of course, an alternative interpretation is that the Soga were, in actuality, of roughly equivalent status to the royal line, and thus it should not be surprising that they erected spacious, luxurious quarters.[27] During the early Asuka period, Suiko is said to have lived first in the Toyura palace (ca. 593–603) and then in the Oharida palace (603–628); remains thought to be those of the former have been found at the site of Toyuradera, but there are some problems as to the location of the latter. Although previously it had been thought that Oharida palace was north of Toyuradera, on the west bank of the Asuka River, more recently pottery has been excavated near Ikazuchi Hill on which the characters "Oharida no miya" are written, so it now appears that that palace was east of the Asuka River.[28] In fact, the archaeology of temples at this period is better understood than that of domestic structures.

Let us now move to a detailed description and analysis of Asukadera itself. We have already established that it was a Soga temple, located at the center of political activity in the later sixth and early seventh centuries. Those historical details in themselves would make it a worthy object of study, but in fact the results of extensive archaeological investigation have demonstrated that Asukadera was of overwhelming importance for Asuka Buddhism and Buddhist art and architecture.[29]

A visit to Asukadera today is somewhat dispiriting, since the present, very modest temple complex provides little sense of its previous grandeur; regrettably, a parking lot filled with tour buses is more evident than substantial buildings. Furthermore, in the temple grounds there are no indications as to the locations of the original halls, making it necessary to imagine in the mind's eye those structures, the foundations of which are currently beneath rice paddies, as they might have appeared in the seventh century. As will be

discussed later, in the case of Kawaradera an effort was made to reconstruct the original foundations of the temple after excavation, so at present the visitor can visualize clearly the ancient layout there. Similarly, in the case of Yakushiji, looking from the foundation stones of the golden hall, we can see the foundation mounds of the east and west pagodas rising up out of the fields, allowing at least a general understanding of the original plan.

Of course, archaeological photographs are available of the foundations of Asukadera, and very precise plans indicate the temple's overall configuration (fig. 1.1).[30] It is perhaps worthwhile to consider for a moment the implications for a broader understanding of early architecture of our reliance on an essentially two-dimensional visualization of temple complexes. Ordinarily it is possible to reconstruct the various halls up to about floor level, since the masonry of the foundations is relatively durable, assuming that the foundation stones were not later removed for other purposes. But with very rare exceptions, little direct evidence exists for any element above floor level, although roof tiles are ordinarily found. Also, the location of the rainwater ditches surrounding the hall allows a general reconstruction of the expanse of the eaves. Consequently, our basic comprehension of Asukadera, and other excavated temples, is limited essentially to the plan, especially if we adopt an interpretative methodology that eschews hypothetical reconstructions.

Given the abundance of temple plans derived from excavations, a considerable amount of research has not surprisingly been devoted to an analysis of their evolution. In considering the historiographical issues related to Asukadera, particularly important is the amazement that greeted the discovery that the layout was not the expected "axial plan" but rather a much more complex "one pagoda/three golden halls" arrangement. [31] In fact, each of the Four Great Temples (assuming that the Kibi Pond site is Kudara Ōdera), has a distinct ground plan, leading scholars to wonder what the basis was for these and other variations in seventh-century architecture.[32] Perhaps, however, this issue would be more profitably dealt with after we have considered each of the four temples. The other information that an analysis of the plan provides is the simple matter of dimensions. Not surprisingly, the usual supposition is that the greater the sizes, the more important the status of the temple; I shall adopt this hypothesis here unless other evidence suggests a different interpretation.

Most viewers naturally place primary focus on the three-dimensional elements of a building: the walls and doors, columns and brackets, and the roof structure. A study of the foundations ordinarily allows a reconstruction of the bay system of a given building, and with that information a plausible deduction can be made as to the placement of the doors. The size of the base stones for the columns provides a general indication of their height, thus allowing a tentative estimate of the height of the walls. Signifi-

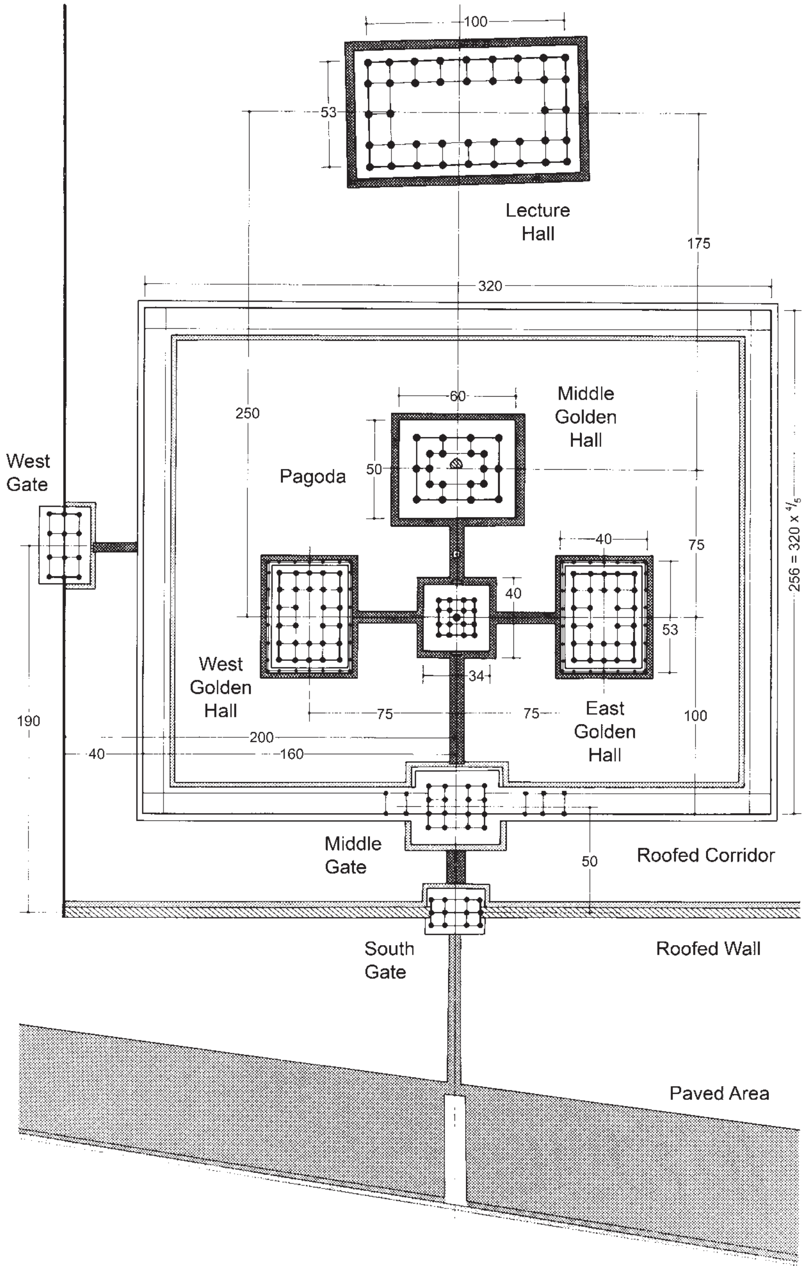


Fig. 1.1. Plan of Asukadera

cant difficulties are encountered if there is thought to have been a second story, and it is also hard to ascertain the appearance of the roof. Here I have been speaking of buildings such as the golden hall or the lecture hall, but even greater problems arise in assessing a multistoried pagoda. With regard to the roof, the ubiquitous presence of roof tiles is the only precise data

available, but these data do not really allow anything beyond generalizations with regard to the roof structure; as noted above, the placement of the rainwater ditches gives a rough indication of the expanse of the eaves. Naturally, tiles provide an exceedingly accurate and precise basis for the dating of buildings, but as chronology is not the concern at this point in the narrative, this matter will be dealt with later.

Perhaps it would be most prudent to abstain from any further efforts to visualize the original appearance of Asukadera, and yet, not surprisingly, architectural historians have usually made such efforts. Of course, the basic methodology utilized is analogy with other structures. If comparable buildings exist, this approach should lead to reasonably satisfactory results; however, in cases like early seventh-century architecture in Japan, where comparative data are rare (or nonexistent), the approach is fraught with danger. The most frequent object of comparison is the west compound (*saiin*) of Hōryūji; note that Ikarugadera (that is, early seventh century), which is roughly contemporaneous to Asukadera, is not utilized in this case because that site manifests the same sorts of problems considered here. The pagoda, golden hall, middle gate, and roofed corridors of the Hōryūji west compound are all above ground and well preserved and thus should serve as a superb resource; the problem, unfortunately, is that these buildings were mostly constructed after the fire of 670, in some cases some decades after, and the whole complex was not completed until the early eighth century. Although arguments are frequently made asserting that the west compound buildings, even if erected after 670, are archaic in style, certainly caution must be taken in reconstructing late-sixth to early-seventh-century halls on the basis of ones built several decades later.[33]

Historiography

The historiography of Asukadera is of exceptional interest, certainly warranting careful consideration. Perhaps I should make clear from the outset that the process and development of research interests me nearly as much as the final results, so this account will be rather detailed. The reader can decide for herself if this degree of detail is justified in terms of the overall goals of the project.

We will consider with some care two *engi* (circumstances of the founding or origins of a temple); in this chapter *Gangōji engi*, related to Asukadera, and in the next chapter *Daianji engi*, associated with Kudara Ōdera. These two texts contain a great deal of legendary or fictitious material, but usually embedded within their narratives are pieces of information helpful for an understanding of the establishment and early period of the temple in question. Great difficulties are encountered in studying these texts, but

this problem must be faced as they are essential for our understanding of these temples.

The standard procedure in assessing texts such as *Gangōji engi* and *Daianji engi* is to make a painstaking comparison with the relevant data in the first official history of Japan, *Nihon shoki*. This would present fewer difficulties than it does if *Nihon shoki* itself were totally reliable; unfortunately, some of the same types of legendary material, misleading accounts, and out and out false assertions are found there also. We might be inclined to avoid a comparative analysis given the significant degree of unreliability of the two sources being compared, but fortunately a long tradition of scholarship in Japan has succeeded in clarifying many of the most troubling problems with the result that generally plausible histories can be formulated.

Is it possible to know how an *engi* was composed? A reasonable assumption is that some historical data, either in written or oral form, existed in the temple on which the compilers could draw in producing a narrative. Additionally, the compilers would have access to external material, some perhaps related to their temple, some entirely unrelated. However, this material would not be adequate for the production of an *engi* because important contemporary ideological issues would also have to be addressed. Naturally, the priests would want their temple to be associated with the most important people as well as having a prestigious foundation legend, so the task of the scholar is to determine as far as possible the degree to which later ideological factors determined the form of the *engi* as we have it today.

Study of Asukadera (usually referred to as either "Gangōji" or "Hōkōji") began in the Meiji period and continued to develop in the Taishō era.[34] However, it was not until Fukuyama Toshio's fundamental publication of 1934, "Asukadera no sōritsu ni kansuru kenkyū" (Research Concerning the Establishment of Asukadera), that our understanding of the temple's history was put on a sound footing.[35] Even the title of Fukuyama's study is significant, for in referring to the temple by its actual ancient name — Asukadera — and not by later designations — Gangōji or Hōkōji — he signaled a new approach. There is no exaggeration in stating that Fukuyama established sound foundations for the type of comparative analysis described in the preceding paragraphs.

Fukuyama's research is essentially philological, involving a critical analysis of Asukadera material in *Nihon shoki* and *Gangōji engi*.[36] He began by dividing what he refers to as the "Old Gangōji engi" into seven sections:

1. Introduction
2. Main text
3. Donation text

4. After text
5. Connected records
6. *Tō roban mei*
7. *Jōroku kōmei*.[37]

Fukuyama made these divisions in order to date and explain the various aspects of the text; of course, these are his divisions, not those of the compilers. The "Introduction" (1) and the "After text" (4) state that Empress Suiko ordered Prince Stable Door to compile an *engi* on a very auspicious date, New Year's Day, when she was one hundred years old. Therefore, the prince himself wrote the *Engi*, which refers to the "Main text" (2), and he also wrote the vows of Empress Suiko and the various ministers contained in the "Donation text" (3). The "Connected records" (5) tell of Empress Suiko's vow to become a Buddhist novice and protect the temples and their icons, as well as her order that the *Engi* be protected and kept secret.

Fukuyama argued, on the basis of literary style, vocabulary, and content, that practically all of the above material is post-*Nihon shoki* (that is, after 720), presumably at the end of Nara or early in the Heian period. Consequently, his main task was to determine how much original material is contained in the "Main text" (2), *Tō roban mei* (6), and *Jōroku kōmei* (7).[38] Fukuyama's methodology involved a comparative analysis of *Gangōji engi* and *Nihon shoki* of the type mentioned above, since in dealing with Asukadera specifically and early Buddhism in Japan generally, these two texts have close relations and must have utilized some of the same historical documents. When *Nihon shoki* was compiled, Fukuyama believed that *Tō roban mei* and *Jōroku kōmei* were already in existence, and so in those cases where *Gangōji engi* and *Nihon shoki* are identical, we can probably assume that the information is reliable unless there is some compelling reason to think otherwise.

Comparing *Nihon shoki* and *Tō roban mei*, we find that *Tō roban mei* records that in 588 Japan requested priests and craftsmen from Paekche, whereas *Nihon shoki* states that these people arrived in 588, and no request is mentioned. We can conclude, therefore, that most of the material in the *Nihon shoki* concerning Asukadera is from *Jōroku kōmei*, including the year the temple was completed (Suiko 4, 596), the icon donated (Suiko 13, 605), and that icon enshrined (Suiko 14, 606). The 606 year for the completion of the icons that is recorded in *Nihon shoki* is a result of a misunderstanding of *Jōroku kōmei*; when that text has the phrase "next year," the referent is 608, not 605, as the compiler of *Nihon shoki* apparently thought. Although we are concerned in the present section primarily with the building history of Asukadera, it is appropriate to note that none of the material concerning the sculptor Tori busshi in *Nihon shoki* appears in *Jōroku kōmei*.

Fukuyama believed that much of the "Main text" has nothing to do with

Asukadera but is, instead, the record of the related nunnery, Toyuradera, which was then inserted into *Gangōji engi* at a later date. Fukuyama also pointed out many doubtful statements in *Nihon shoki* concerning Asukadera, and he suggested that it does not provide any accurate information that is not in *Gangōji engi*, particularly *Tō roban mei* and *Jōroku kōmei*.[39]

Fukuyama next proceeded to an analysis of the prose style of *Gangōji engi*. He asserts that the "Main text," the *Jōroku kōmei*, and the first part of *Tō roban mei* are written in a standard Chinese style with the exception of the Japanese proper names; he believed, however, that the second part of *Tō roban mei* is written in a more archaic style of a type seen in some early inscriptions.[40] Therefore, he concluded that this section reflects the text inscribed on the *roban* when it was erected in 596. Although the first part of *Tō roban mei* was written later than the second part, Fukuyama asserted that even this first part was written earlier than the rest of the *Engi*, including *Jōroku kōmei*. While this first part of *Tō roban mei* refers to the transmission of Buddhism to Japan during the reign of Kinmei and of Suiko's patronage of the religion, we can, by reading the text carefully, determine that it was actually Soga no Umako who was the original donor.

Fukuyama believed that *Jōroku kōmei* was written after the first part of *Tō roban mei*, presumably based on the latter. The intention of the writer of this text was to assert that Empress Suiko vowed Asukadera and its main icon. Here we find the details of bronze and fabric sixteen-foot icons, the story that king of Koguryŏ (Taehŭng Wang), on hearing about the plan for the two icons, donating 320 ryō of gold, and arrival of the Sui envoy in 608.[41] The text also records that something was finished in 609. Fukuyama was skeptical about the king and his gold, but acknowledged the historicity of the Sui envoy's visit to Japan.[42]

Fukuyama's chronology for *Gangōji engi* can be summarized as follows:

a. Second half of *Tō roban mei* — 596 or shortly thereafter.
b. First half of *Tō roban mei* — since it does not utilize the term *tennō*, it may have been written shortly after the coup of 645, when the Soga fell.
c. *Jōroku kōmei* — after (a) and (b) but before *Nihon shoki*, perhaps ca. 690–710. (It was intended to assert the imperial foundation of Asukadera.)
d. *Engi* proper — after *Nihon shoki*, perhaps late Nara period.

Fukuyama concluded that the account of Asukadera in *Nihon shoki* (there referred to as Hōkōji) is not reliable because it was motivated by an imperial ideology and the efforts of the Gangōji priests in the eighth century to associate themselves with the winning side, that of the imperial line as it then existed. He was able to demonstrate that while most of *Gangōji engi* is much later than the foundation date of Asukadera, embed-

ded within it are some sections that relate to the original establishment of the temple, especially the second part of *Tō roban mei*. Fukuyama denied that the entire temple was completed in 596, suggesting that only the pagoda had been built by that year. He also thought it very peculiar that if the pagoda was completed in 596, the main icon was not made until 605–609. As we shall see presently, it is really quite amazing how prescient Fukuyama was, in a sense almost predicting some of the results of the 1956–1957 excavations. I would like also to stress what I take to be the anti-imperial tone of Fukuyama's analysis, something a little surprising given the general political situation and mood of mid-1930s Japan.[43]

Perhaps a little more discussion of the *Engi* proper — that is, Fukuyama's subdivisions (1) to (5) — is in order, especially in terms of significant differences with the *Nihon shoki* account. The "Introduction" (1) tells of Toyomike Kashikiya hime at age one hundred ordering Umayado no Toyotomimi miko in 613 CE to compile a history of Gangōji and to record her vows and those of the ministers. Interestingly, Toyomike is not referred to by her reign name, Suiko tennō, nor is Umayado called Shōtoku Taishi, their later standard designations.

The long "Main text" (2) is essentially a history of Buddhism in Japan, recording much of the information discussed in the Introduction of this book and at the beginning of the present chapter. Thus we learn about the transmission of Buddhism from Paekche during the reign of Amekuni Oshiharuki Hironiwa no sumera no mikoto (= Kinmei) and the resulting controversy and vicissitudes concerning its adoption. Soga no Iname is the main character, as in *Nihon shoki*, but here Daidaiō, another name for Toyomike (that is, Suiko), makes an initial appearance when it is suggested that the Buddhist material be enshrined in her rear palace. Following this is an account of the sicknesses that occur when the worship of the Buddha commences and the various steps taken, both pro- and anti-Buddhist. Moving to the time of Soga no Umako, we hear about the famous three girls who become nuns and their worship of the stone Miroku image brought from Paekche in 584 by Kafuka no ōmi (here called "Kaga"). Later, in another persecution of Buddhism, the three nuns are defrocked, although they are soon returned to Umako's chapel. (The detail of their being whipped in the public market is omitted by the compilers of *Gangōji engi*.)

At this point the most significant divergence from the *Nihon shoki* account is seen, for in *Gangōji engi* there is no mention of the 587 struggle between the anti-Buddhist Mononobe and Nakatomi clans and the pro-Buddhist Soga clan, nor is anything said about Umako's vow to build a temple if his side is victorious. (Naturally, there is also nothing about the young Prince Stable Door's vow to build Shitennōji.) Instead, we learn that the nuns request the building of both a nunnery and a monastery, each with ten religious, in order that proper ordination according to the pre-

cepts could be performed.[44] It is further noted that the two temples must be close enough together so that the sounds of their respective bells can be heard at the other temple. While I have stressed the improbability of many of the details in *Gangōji engi*, this particular detail is at least theologically possible, and so we can recognize an essentially political basis for the founding of Asukadera in *Nihon shoki*, whereas here it is given a more religious quality.

When the decision is made to build the temples, a message is sent to Paekche requesting priests and craftsmen; this matter is recorded more fully in *Tō roban mei*, to be discussed below. Since too few priests arrive from Paekche, the three nuns now ask to be allowed to go to that kingdom in order to receive a proper ordination. Empress Daidaiō then tells Toyotomimi and Umako that she intends to build a nunnery and a monastery, but since a nunnery is already available, they should first provide temporary quarters for the monks at the place where the monastery is to be built. The nuns return from Paekche in 590 and urge the completion of these temples, which is then done. Once again, the narrative emphasizes the necessity of the two institutions and in that sense is not limited to the establishment of Asukadera.

Fukuyama's section (3), the "Donation text," deals first with Toyotomimi's vow to support Buddhism and then records a long vow of the same nature by the empress. Surprisingly, she admits that her parents and other relatives had abused Buddhism, destroying various objects related to the cult.[45] She, however, has made efforts to support the religion, partly in the hope that her relatives will be saved, and has vowed to build the two temples and have two sixteen-foot icons made. Severe warnings are given to any person who contemplates the destruction of the temples or icons; on the other hand, those who support Buddhism can expect to receive great blessings. After the empress makes her vow, Toyotomimi urges the various ministers to follow her commands, and Nakatomi no muraji and Mononobe no muraji, previously enemies of Buddhism, now pledge to support the religion.

The "After text" (4) repeats the information concerning Toyotomimi's efforts to record all of the details described above, while in the "Connected records" (5) Daidaiō states that she will take the Buddhist name Shami Zenki, and she again orders that the two temples and their sixteen-foot images be protected. Curiously, however, she commands that the *Engi* be kept secret.[46]

Given the importance of the textual narratives concerning Asukadera, we have devoted considerable attention to their elucidation. Needless to say, however, thought concerning Asukadera was fundamentally transformed as a result of the excavations of 1956–1957. Prior to these excavations, it was universally believed that the temple had the "axial plan," with middle gate, pagoda, golden hall, and lecture hall all aligned on a north-south axis. In

the course of the first campaign the archaeologists dug a trench out from the pagoda to the west, expecting to locate the roofed corridor; a structure was found, but it turned out not to be what they were looking for. Soon, however, they realized that they had found a full-scale hall, and when, in the second campaign, they dug to the east, an identical structure appeared; these two were named the east and west golden halls. The excitement this discovery evoked, certainly one of the most significant postwar archaeological findings, is hard to recover. As we shall see, while many serious problems associated with Asukadera were resolved as a result of these excavations, some new problems then appeared.

Many of the studies of Asukadera after the 1956–1957 archaeological campaigns were concerned with the main icon, but usually some type of theory was presented concerning the architecture. Consequently, my treatment of the historiography of Asukadera draws heavily on the work of art historians concerned primarily with Buddhist icons; this tendency is based in part on my own familiarity with their work but, more importantly, it reflects the great interest that such scholars have taken in the development of the temple, especially in the effort to relate icons to structures. In a major study of 1968, Mōri Hisashi presented his ideas concerning the temple plan and its icons.[47] Here he developed a novel approach, which can be referred to as the "two-phase theory." Based on the significant differences between the building techniques of the middle golden hall and pagoda, in contrast to the east and west golden halls, which will be discussed in detail later, Mōri concluded that there were two distinct periods of construction at Asukadera. He suggested that the middle golden hall and the pagoda were completed by 596, and the east and west golden halls worked on later.

Machida Kōichi, again focusing on the main icon, criticized Mōri's approach, basically accepting Fukuyama's argument that only the pagoda was completed in 596,[48] therefore rejecting the *Nihon shoki* statement that the whole temple was completed in 596. The controversy continued with Francois Berthier's study of 1974, which challenged Machida and generally supported Mōri's hypotheses concerning the building process of Asukadera.[49] Berthier stressed the fact that the pagoda and middle golden hall were built with what he calls a finer, more up-to-date technique, while the east and west golden halls employed a coarser, older technique. He accounted for these discrepancies by arguing that the finer buildings were supervised by skilled specialists from Paekche, working in the most up-to-date mode between 588 and 596, while the east and west golden halls were constructed by Japanese or immigrant builders in an inferior manner. In attempting to explain the differences between these two phases, Berthier argued that the first phase occurred when Asukadera was the clan temple of the Soga clan, while the second phase represents the time when the imperial family took over the temple. Consequently, he believed that at the initial stage Asuka-

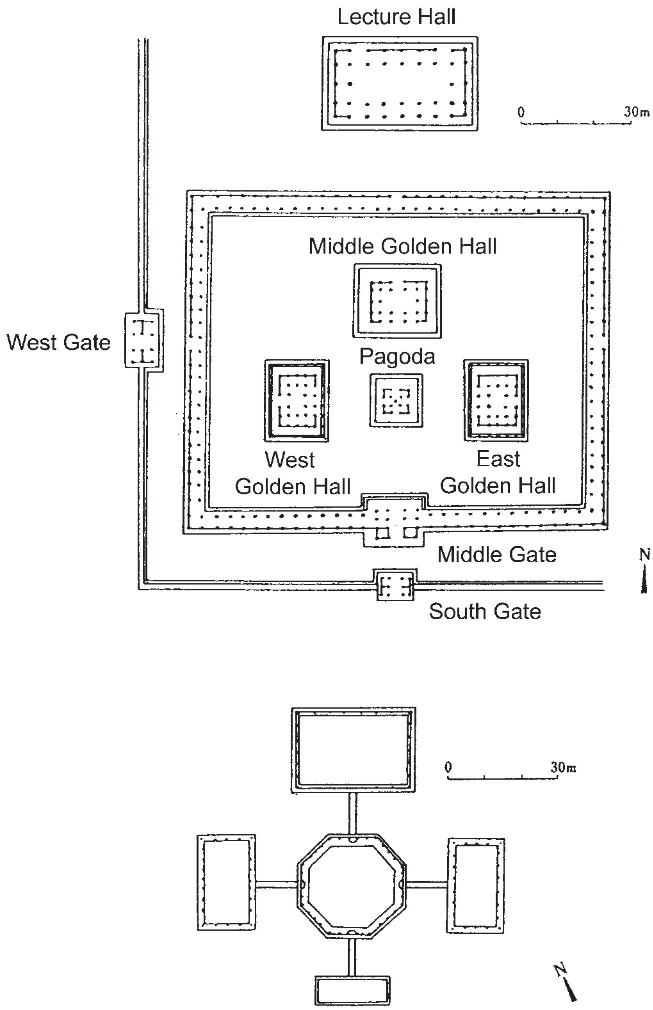


Fig. 1.2. Comparison of Asukadera plan with a Koguryŏ temple

dera was designed in the axial plan, which he associated with the Soga clan, who were closely connected to Paekche, while the second phase, with the three golden halls (a plan thought to relate to Koguryŏ) represents the patronage of the imperial family, directed by Prince Stable Door (fig. 1.2). As might be expected, Machida almost immediately responded to Berthier's article.[50]

Kuno Takeshi, who had written in detail about the Asuka Great Buddha, had relatively little to say about the architecture of the temple.[51] He, like Machida, however, rejected the "two-phase theory" as presented by Mōri and Berthier, arguing that the "one pagoda/three golden halls" layout was planned from the beginning. Although some of his argumentation is related to the icon, which will be discussed later, he did make the

interesting point that if we accept the Sushun 5 (592) entry, which states that the roofed corridor had already been built, then it becomes difficult to imagine how two additional golden halls could be fitted into a pre-existing axial plan layout.[52] For the moment, however, let us set aside the theories of Mōri, Machida, Berthier, and Kuno and deal with them again later when we consider the problem of Asukadera's main icon.

Continuing with regard to architectural theories, a very significant step forward was taken by Ōhashi Katsuaki in 1976.[53] He succeeded, at least in my opinion, in offering a rational and convincing scenario for the construction process carried out at Asukadera. The basic premise of his approach, which applies to other seventh-century temples as well, is that a single building required some four or five years to construct and that only one building was worked on at a time. Utilizing this insight, Ōhashi concludes that Asukadera required more than twenty years to build, thereby dissolving an apparent gap between the two phases. He further explains the discrepancy in technical merit between the two pairs of building by suggesting that the central axis pagoda and middle golden hall were more important than the secondary east and west golden halls.

Craftsmen and Priests from Paekche

The craftsmen who worked on Asukadera and the other individuals from the continent who were involved are essentially unique for the early period in that so many of their names are known. These names, recorded in *Gangōji engi* and *Nihon shoki*, are basically the same in the two texts with the exception of some insignificant variations.[54] First is a group of priests: *Gangōji engi* lists six, while *Nihon shoki* has nine; however, three in *Nihon shoki* are recorded twice, once at the beginning of the text, where it is said that they brought relics, and then later among the group of six. Consequently, it is evident that the two texts refer to the same six priests. (*Tō roban mei* records only two of the six.) *Nihon shoki* also provides the names of a group of envoys who brought the priests and craftsmen to Japan. Since nothing else is known about any of these individuals, they remain essentially abstractions, telling us little more than that a group of priests and envoys came to Japan at the time Asukadera was to be built and were received by Soga no Umako.

Far more interesting to the art historian is the enumeration, following the names of priests and envoys, in the *Tō roban mei* section of *Gangōji engi* and in *Nihon shoki* of a number of craftsmen: two temple builders, one *roban* maker, and four tile-makers; at this point *Tō roban mei* and *Nihon shoki* diverge, as *Tō roban mei* gives the names of two men thought to be site supervisors: Yamato no aya no ō atai, name, Makōkuki; and same clan, name, Otokashi atai. Their long and complicated names, incorporating a

Japanese title, suggest that they were builders of "immigrant" lineage rather than newly arrived craftsmen from Paekche. Obviously, there would have had to have been local supervisors and labor, and these two must belong to that category. Following these two supervisors, *Tō roban mei* lists two "calligraphers" (*fumibito*) both with "doctor" (*hakase*), following their proper names; it is not clear what they did, although possibly they kept records or perhaps were involved in the text for the *roban* inscription. Given the complexity of the project, perhaps record-keeping was particularly important. *Nihon shoki* does not record the local supervisors; instead directly following the tile-makers is a single individual called a "pictorial craftsman"; since *Tō roban mei* is generally more reliable, probably this character in *Nihon shoki* is a mistake for the different character seen in *Tō roban mei*.

In *Tō roban mei* the names just enumerated are followed by two phrases that later will occupy us frequently: "In the *hinoe tatsu* year (596), eleventh month, [something] was completed" (丙辰年十一月既) and: "At the time, the people who were [ordered] to make and plan [something] were . . . " (爾時使作？人等). Passing over these for the moment, we note that *Tō roban mei* next lists a group of four individuals: Onumi no obito, name, Tatsusei; Asatsuma no obito, name, Misano; Kuratsukuri no obito, name, Karami; and Ōwachi no obito, name, Toki; each again with long and complicated names of apparent "immigrant" lineage, who must also have been some sort of site managers, as each is referred to as the leader of his group. Finally, there is a general term referring to the laborers (*moromoro no hito*). Contrasting with *Nihon shoki*, *Tō roban mei* provides a detailed listing of local supervisors and workers, something totally lacking in the former. Since there would seem to be no reason to fabricate such names, they are likely accurate; the fact that they are not included in *Nihon shoki* probably is because the compilers of that official text had no particular interest in such individuals.

There are some differences in the titles used in the two texts to refer to the craftsmen from Paekche: *Tō Roban mei* employs "master" in three cases, while *Nihon shoki* uses either "doctor" or "craftsman"; only in the case of the two calligraphers does *Tō roban mei* employ "doctor," here attached directly to their proper names. As far as I can tell, there are no significant differences in the status designations in the two texts.

Great controversy has raged over what these craftsmen and supervisors were actually working on. First, it should be noted that while *Nihon shoki* simply records their names, associates them with Soga no Umako, and only later mentions the building of Hōkōji (= Asukadera); *Tō roban mei* states specifically that they were requested from the king of Paekche. Their inclusion in *Tō roban mei* is most logically interpreted as meaning they were working on the pagoda, the two temple masters supervising the overall construction, the tile-makers involved in producing the very exten-

sive quantity of tiles required, and the *roban* master supervising the task of producing the elaborate superstructure for the temple.

Given the technical complexity of erecting a pagoda, a group of nine foreign craftsmen certainly does not seem excessive. We can assume that at this time there were no carpenters in Japan trained to construct the elaborate bracketing seen on a pagoda, let alone capable of ensuring that the towering structure would be stable. Similarly, clay roof tiles were new to Japan, and the four tile-makers would have had to obtain materials and build appropriate kilns for firing; presumably they brought either models or sketches from Paekche that would then have been replicated. Why four tile-makers were needed but only two builders is not clear; perhaps the tile-makers did more of the actual work while the builders were primarily supervisory. Along with the relics enshrined below the central column, the *roban* extending from its top is a key symbolic element of the pagoda, meaning that its construction would obviously require the knowledge and technical skills of a specialist; since elaborate metal-working already had a long history in Japan, perhaps the *roban* master was also primarily a supervisor.

After the pagoda was completed, these craftsmen would then have moved on to the construction of the other buildings, particularly the golden halls. What role the *roban* master would then assume is unclear, although presumably he did not remain idle. Of course, there is always the possibility that such a highly trained specialist would have returned home, perhaps after teaching local craftsmen his trade.

It is really quite extraordinary to contemplate the number of priests and craftsmen from Paekche and the local supervisors who had their names inscribed on the *roban* — as many as sixteen. (If we add the additional priest names and the one envoy included in *Gangōji engi* plus the further two envoys mentioned in *Nihon shoki*, the number becomes even larger.) We normally think of the building of a Buddhist temple as a largely anonymous project, with much more focus on the patrons or donors than on those who did or supervised the actual work. Perhaps, in the building of Asukadera, the first proper, full-scale temple in Japan, a degree of pride motivated the inclusion of all these names; later it may have been realized that this was unnecessary or even inappropriate.

Construction Process

As is well known, Asukadera is said in *Nihon shoki* to have been vowed by Soga no Umako in 587 as a pious offering should his forces prevail over those of the Mononobe and Nakatomi in the conflict concerning the acceptance of Buddhism. The historicity of this lively and violent narrative need not concern us here; it is adequate to recognize that in the standard account the

creation of Asukadera was not without controversy.[55] *Gangōji engi*, as noted above, tells a different story, relating the building of Asukadera to the necessity of having a monastery so that the nuns could receive proper ordination. As with the *Nihon shoki* entry, the exact status of this account is uncertain, although since the Buddhist regulations do require both a monastery and nunnery, each with ten religious, in order to perform the ordination ceremony, some reality may lie behind the narrative.[56]

The building process for a large-scale temple is an enormous undertaking requiring a large work force and a good deal of time.[57] Therefore, I would like to provide a detailed analysis of this process. The initial stages, prior to the actual construction of a building, involve planning decisions and logistics, site selection and clearance, preparation of the grounds, and the gathering of material such as lumber and stone.

Site selection was a crucial matter, both from a practical and an ideological perspective. Obviously the temple would require a good location within the Soga domain; also, given the scale intended, the land would need to be flat, suggesting it would be quite expensive. More complex were the ideological factors, since Umako intended a temple dedicated to a "foreign" deity, an aim that apparently evoked considerable hostility from other elite factions. *Nihon shoki* informs us that Asuka no Kinunui no miyatsuko destroyed the house of Konoha, his ancestor, in order to build the temple; the text gives two names for the location: Makami no hara of Asuka and Tomata.[58] Since the Asuka no Kinunui traced their ancestry to Paekche, they presumably would have been sympathetic to the new, "foreign" religion and thus would allow their land to be used. An additional important factor was the Tsuki grove of Makami no hara, a grove that Tamura speculates was a sacred area for the Asuka no Kinunui; as he points out, the Tsuki grove appears rather frequently in *Nihon shoki* entries, clearly indicating its importance.[59] Significantly, the largest gate of Asukadera — the west gate — faced directly out to the grove, thereby allowing immediate contact between temple and grove. A second requirement, equally important although less troublesome, was the need to have Asukadera located close enough to the nunnery so that the bells of each could be heard at the other; the nunnery, Toyuradera, is located about 800 m to the west, on the other side of the Asuka River, allowing for the bells to be easily heard.[60]

Especially important was the gathering of the necessary lumber, which involved a search in the mountains for timber large enough for the structures. After the trees were felled and brought to the site, itself a difficult task, they still had to be dried and seasoned, a process requiring two to three years. Obviously, knowledge of this process already existed in Japan for ordinary wood architecture, but the very large scale of the lumber needed for Asukadera would require particular care and attention by specialists. Although *Nihon shoki* states that timber gathering began in 590, the 588

date provided by *Gangōji engi* seems more likely, given the time required for drying.[61] Also of great importance was the obtaining of stone appropriate for the column bases and platform components, the heart stone, and the pedestal for the Great Buddha; the later two were extraordinarily large, but this would not have involved any serious problems for native craftsmen as they already had lengthy experience with the quarrying and finishing of large-scale masonry for monumental *kofun* tombs.

Simultaneous with the collection and drying of the lumber and the procurement of stone would be the actual clearing of the site. *Nihon shoki* provides information as to the location of the site and the necessity of tearing down a pre-existing structure. The actual preparation of the site was labor-intensive, involving first the leveling of the ground and then the initial work on the foundations. The site of a given structure, such as that of the pagoda, would need to be accurately surveyed and demarcated, and then the entire area would be excavated to an appropriate depth; next, this excavated area would be refilled with layers of pounded earth, thereby assuring a solid base for the foundations. Meanwhile, as lumbering and site preparation were progressing, the tile-makers would be gathering their material, building kilns, and beginning to produce the requisite tiles. Considering the amount of effort required for all of these tasks, it is unlikely that any actual above-ground construction could have commenced prior to the early 590s.

Much confusion and a great deal of debate have surrounded the order and chronology of the various buildings of Asukadera. Most of the confusion results from several entries in *Nihon shoki* that have been interpreted in such a way as to reach unlikely conclusions about the construction process. Before considering the more reliable *Gangōji engi* material, it might be best to summarize the conclusions derived from the *Nihon shoki* entries. *Nihon shoki* states that lumbering began in 590; it says further that in the tenth month of 592 the Buddha hall and the roofed corridors of Hōkōji were built. Then, on the fifteenth day of the first month of 593, we are told the relics were placed in the heart stone for the central pillar, and on the next day this pillar was erected. Finally, the text states that Hōkōji was completed in the eleventh month of 596.[62] This last date is thought to be corroborated by the entry in *Tō roban mei* recording that in the eleventh month of 596 "something" was completed.

In Ōhashi's devastating critique of the 590–596 hypothesis for the construction of the entire temple, he demonstrates that it would have been impossible to carry out the initial planning, gather and dry the lumber, obtain the stone, prepare the site, and erect all of the buildings in such a short period. This would have been true for the temple even as it was conceived prior to the 1956–1957 excavations, when it was believed to have only a single golden hall.

How, then, should the construction process be conceptualized? If above-

ground construction began in the early 590s, then the two adjacent 593 dates could quite likely be appropriate for the initial phases of work on the pagoda; the site had been prepared, the lumber felled and cured, a monumental heart stone quarried and finished, the other foundation stones readied; only then would the all-important relics be enshrined in a special cavity in the heart stone. What exactly is meant by the 593.1.16 entry that the column was erected is not clear; I suspect that such a precise date merely symbolizes the commencement of work on the pagoda proper. As we have seen, Ōhashi has presented convincing comparative data that a single structure in an early temple required several years to complete. Accordingly, if the most natural interpretation of the *Tō roban mei* entry of 596.11 — namely, that it was the pagoda, and only the pagoda, that was completed in that year — we arrive at a logical chronology for the construction of the building.[63]

Later, in addressing the problems of the temple icons, an analysis of the 605–606 or, more likely, 600–609 period for the casting of the main icon will be undertaken. For the moment, we need only note that the so-called gap between the suggested completion of the temple in 596 and the making of the icon a decade later is dissolved if we recognize the various structures were built in sequence, each requiring several years of work. As Ōhashi has also demonstrated, at this early stage only one building was worked on at a time, thereby suggesting that a very large temple such as Asukadera would require more than twenty years to complete.

Buildings

The middle golden hall (*chū kondō*) and the pagoda (*tō*) of Asukadera are located on a central, north-south axis, with the golden hall behind the pagoda, suggesting to scholars in the past that the temple was initially built on the north-south axial plan perhaps directly based on a prototype in Paekche. These two buildings have foundations of identical type, which differ from those of the east and west golden halls.

Since this study concerns ruined temples, we need to pay considerable attention to the construction techniques of foundations as they are largely underground and usually relatively well preserved. The types of foundations seen in Japanese Buddhist structures of the sixth and seventh centuries are totally different from earlier architecture in Japan as well as from most later secular buildings. Two important factors are relevant: first, the necessity to have a foundation able to support the great weight of a tiled roof; and second, the concern with durability, a factor that contrasts with the normally short life-span of traditional buildings. While most buildings might be occupied for a few decades before being abandoned or entirely reconstructed, temple halls were built for long-term usage.

Middle golden hall

The middle golden hall (fig. 1.3), now largely under the main hall of Angoin, was understandably more difficult to investigate than the other structures; however, it was possible to determine the original dimensions of 21.2 m × 17.5 m, a fairly typical size for that period. Unfortunately, since the column base stones that should lie on top of the foundation platform[64] were removed in later centuries, it was impossible to determine with complete confidence the placement of the columns; judging from the overall dimensions, however, we may tentatively suggest that the middle golden hall was a five-bay by four-bay structure.[65]

The form of the foundations is referred to in modern terminology as the *danjō zumi kidan* type (fig. 1.4b), the finest type of platform, one that uses carefully cut stone. As shown in a modern diagram, there is a lower platform of finished granite (*kakōgan)* that lies on the prepared earth (fig. 1.11b). Rising vertically from this base are the tuff (*gyōkaigan*) horizontal panels (*hame ishi*) that form the siding of the platform. The *hame ishi* of this platform did not include the intermediate, vertical columns (*tsuka ishi*) often seen in later versions. Then, topping the *hame ishi* are horizontally placed stone panels (*kazura ishi*), the upper surface of which supported the columns. The rain gutter (*amaochi mizo*) excavated at the front was made up of small stones to take care of water falling from the eaves.

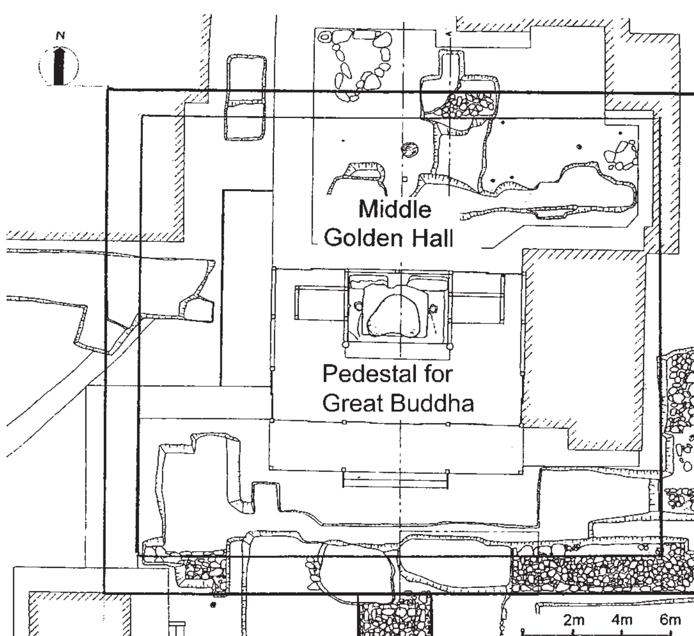


Fig. 1.3. Plan of middle golden hall





Fig. 1.4. Present main hall, Angoin (below); middle golden hall, foundations (above)

Although it was not feasible to excavate the entire middle golden hall, archaeologists determined that the massive stone pedestal (figs. 1.24, 1.25) on which the Asuka Great Buddha sits is in the original location, thereby indicating an exceptional continuity over the centuries. This stone pedestal has turned out to be more complicated than was understood during the 1956–1957 excavation campaigns, but as the matter pertains quite specifically to the original main icon, we will postpone consideration until we discuss that icon.

Pagoda and pathway

Running from the golden hall to the pagoda is a pathway (*sandō*) 2.9 m wide and 11 m long (figs. 1.4 below, 1.5); at midpoint the stone base for a temple lantern (*tōrōdai ishi*) was found.[66] The dimensions of the pagoda were 12 m × 12 m, and it had the same foundation type as the golden hall. Stairs were provided only on the north and south sides. Although we cannot be certain as to the height and number of stories of this pagoda, judging from other temples of similar size it is possible there were five stories, with three stories also plausible. As is almost always the case, much is preserved underground and when this area of the pagoda was excavated, important results were achieved.[67]

Extending vertically through the center of any pagoda is a central, axial shaft, the bottom of which lies on a heart stone (*shinso*) (fig. 1.6). The heart stone of Asukadera, positioned 2.7 m below the foundation platform, is an enormous granite block approximately 2.4 m sq. At the center of its upper surface is an oblong cavity (30 cm sq), and on the east wall of this cavity is an additional small chamber intended to contain the pagoda's relics. Extending out from the main cavity in the four directions are incised channels designed to prevent the accumulation of water.

East and west golden halls

We considered the general significance of the discovery of the east and west golden halls (*tōzai kondō*) above, so here we will focus on their architectural forms (figs. 1.7–1.10). The west golden hall was discovered first, which later led to an understanding of the temple plan. Because this structure was under farmland (*hatachi*) requiring deep cultivation, the foundations were seriously disturbed, but the east golden hall was fortunately below rice paddies and consequently was much better preserved. The buildings had platforms 20.3 m × 15.5 m at the base with the hall proper being 18.8 m × 13.9 m. In contrast to the middle golden hall, which faced south, these two are arranged symmetrically to face the pagoda, the west golden hall facing east, the east golden hall facing west (fig. 1.1). Consequently, they had stairways on their east and west sides. Like the middle golden hall, they have lost their column foundation stones, which were originally on

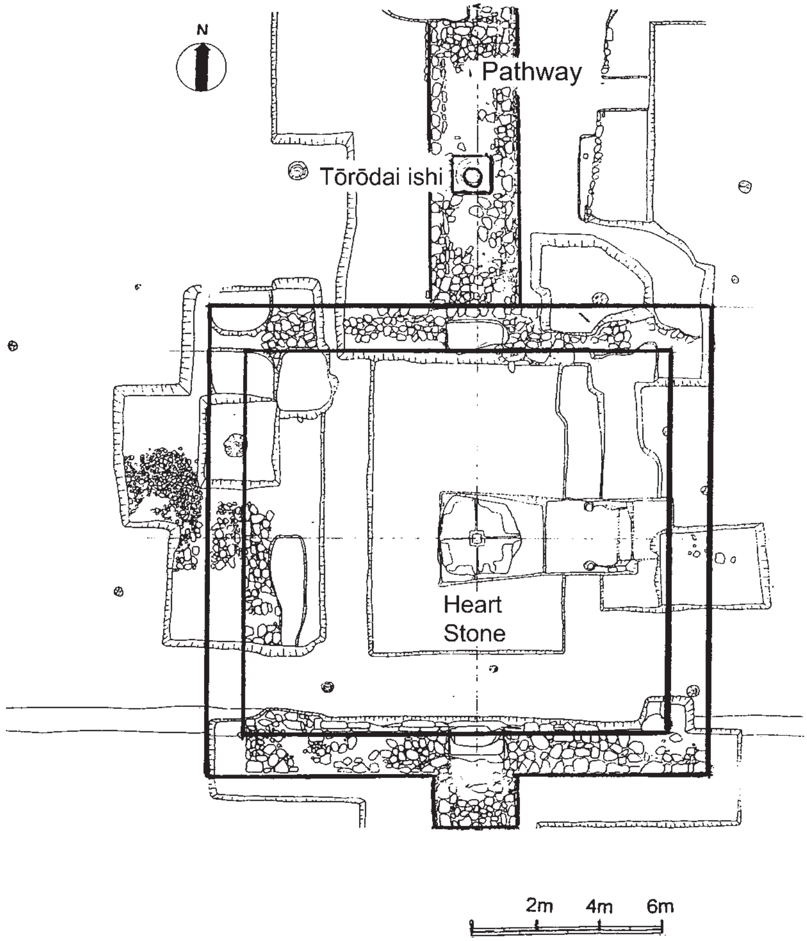


Fig. 1.5. Plan of pagoda

the upper platform, but from the arrangement of stones at the lower platform, both have been reconstructed as five bays by four bays, the same as the middle golden hall; unlike the middle golden hall, however, the east and west golden halls were somewhat shallow, presumably not having been designed to accommodate large-scale icons.[68]

The excavation report refers to the foundation type of the east and west golden halls as the "two-level platform" (*nijū kidan*) form (fig. 1.11a).[69] The lower level (*kasei kidan*) is made up of horizontally placed slabs, on top of which are piled stones making up the upper level (*jōsei kidan*); these are rather rough in appearance in comparison to the very fine siding (*hame ishi*) of the middle golden hall (figs. 1.3, 1.4). While the latter has finished stones (*kiri ishi*) in this area, in the present type there are small boulders (*tama ishi*). This type of foundation had not previously been found in Japan, but examples have been excavated in Koguryŏ, Puyo (Sabi) — the

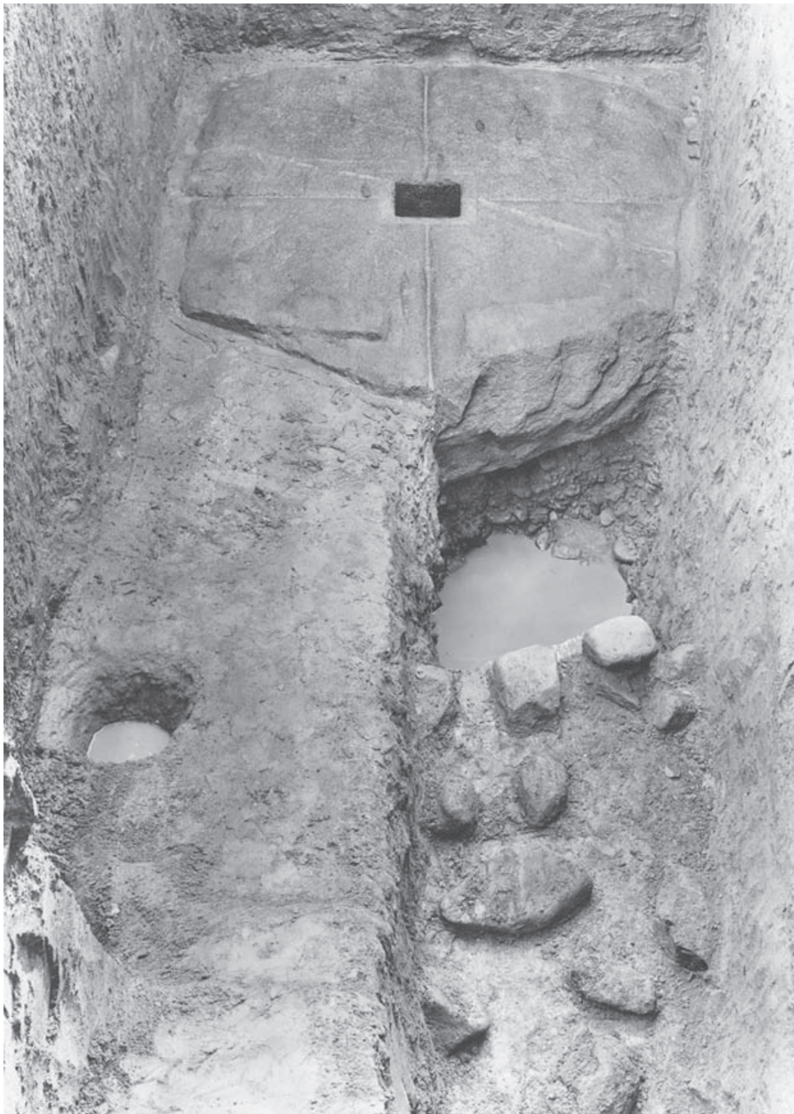


Fig. 1.6. Pagoda, heart stone

final capital of Paekche—and Silla.[70] The column foundation stones of the upper level are lost, but there are small column foundation stones on the lower platform. Although the function of these columns is not known, various suggestions have been made. Tsuboi said that at first sight they look like they were for the verandas (*enzuka ishi*) that surround the perimeter of medieval buildings, but he rejects this hypothesis since there is no evidence of this form in ancient Korean buildings, which must have served as a prototype for Asukadera.[71] Another possibility that is rejected is that they were for the "porches" (*mokoshi*) seen in the important buildings of early

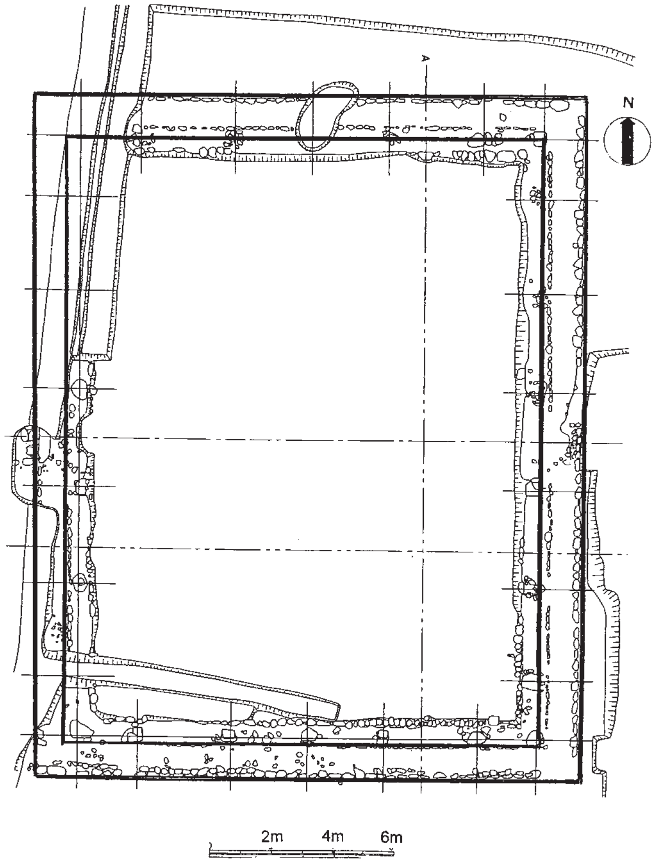


Fig. 1.7. Plan of east golden hall



Fig. 1.8. East golden hall, general view



Fig. 1.9. East golden hall, foundations

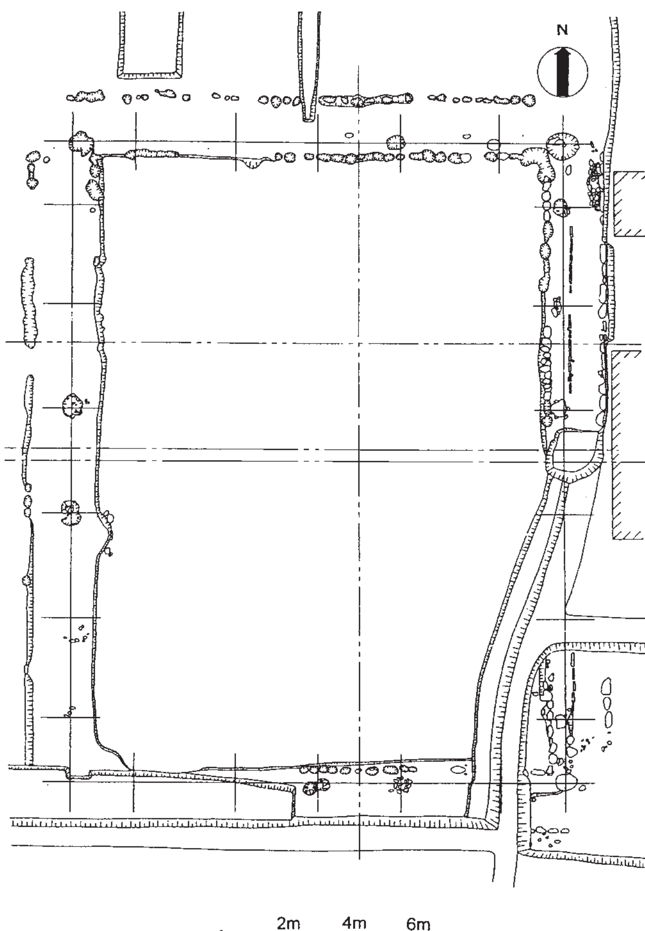


Fig. 1.10. Plan of west golden hall

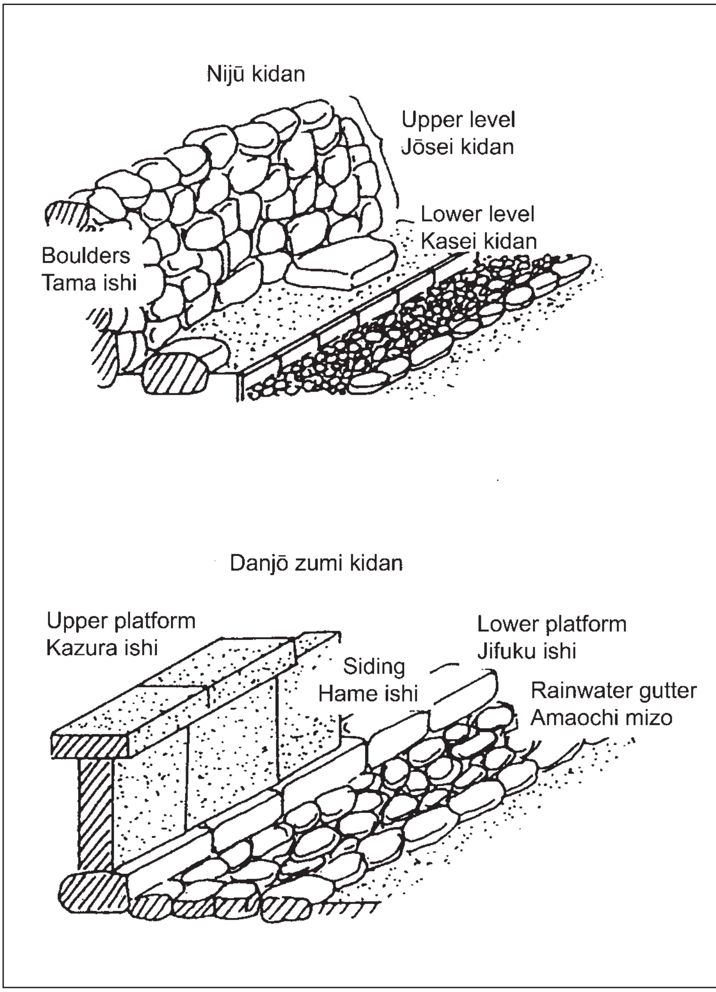


Fig. 1.11. Reconstruction of the foundations: east/west golden halls (above); middle golden hall and pagoda (below)

Japan, such as the pagoda and golden hall of Hōryūji or the east pagoda of Heijōkyō Yakushiji. Having excluded these "desirable" possibilities, Tsuboi concluded that the stones were for columns that provided additional support, thereby producing a rather awkward appearance.[72] While I am not in a position to bluntly deny this hypothesis, given the general sophistication of the architecture of Asukadera, does it not seem a little unlikely that such an unattractive element would have been necessary? The platform had the usual rain water gutter and traces of steps can be seen in some places.

Middle gate

A well-defined pathway leads from the pagoda to the middle gate (*chūmon*) (fig. 1.12), which was located 24 m south of the pagoda. The dimensions were 16.2 m × 13.5 m; judging from the foundation stones, it was three bays by

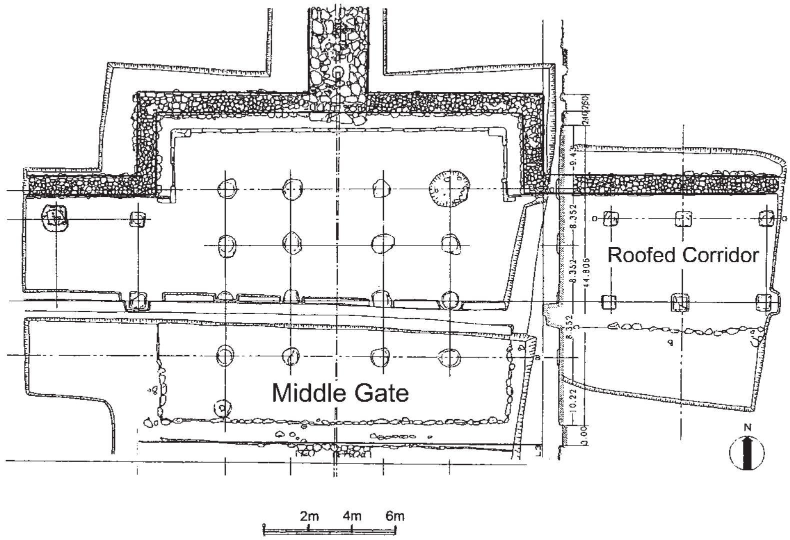


Fig. 1.12. Plan of middle gate

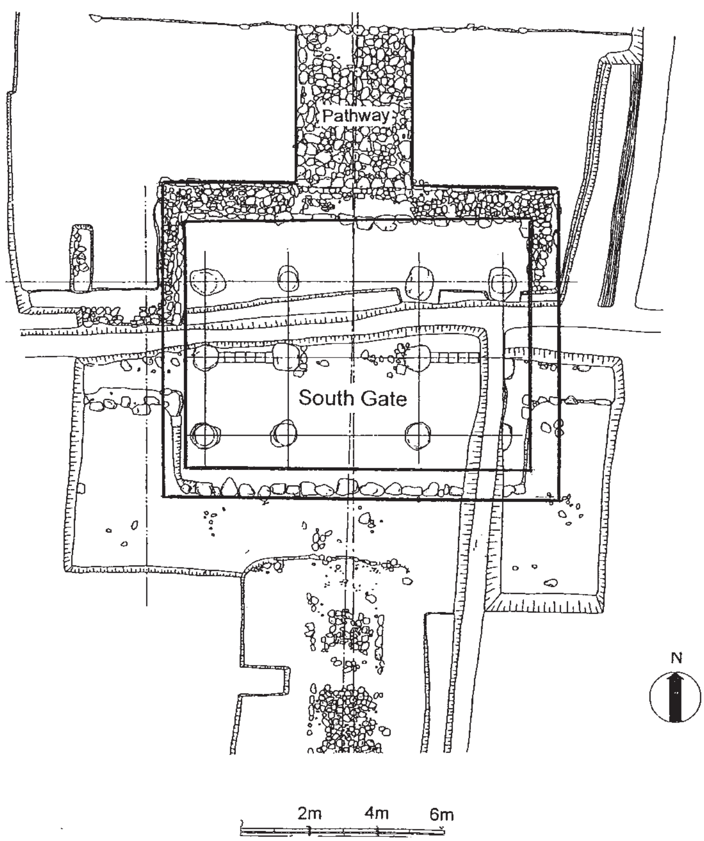


Fig. 1.13. Plan of south gate

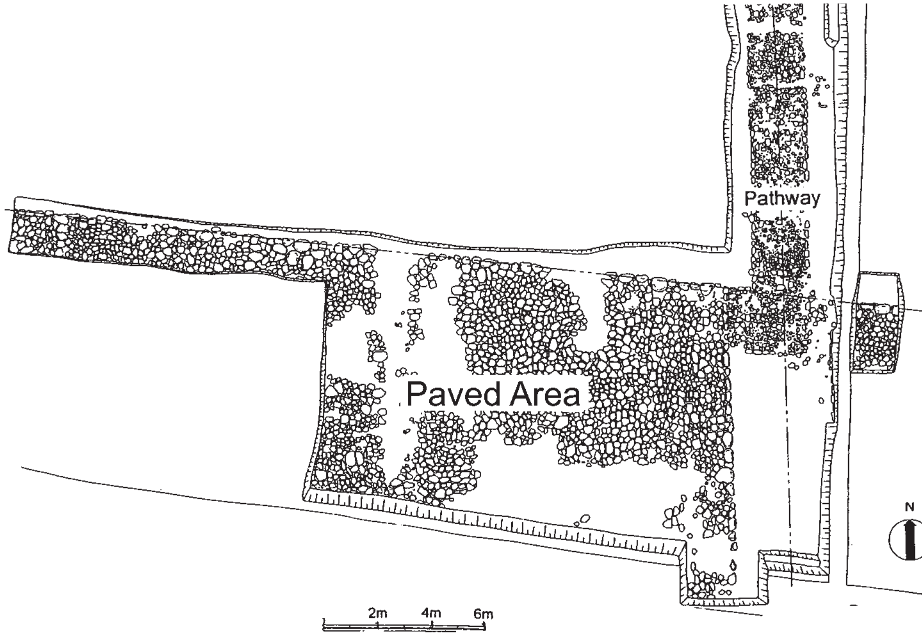


Fig. 1.14. Plan of paved area in front of south gate

three bays in plan, making it rather deep in relation to its east-west breadth. This plan and scale suggests that the middle gate had a second story.[73]

Roofed corridor

The roofed corridor (*kairō*) (fig. 1.12), which abuts the middle gate at either side, extended 112 m east-west and 90 m north-south; the longer front dimensions would be adequate to accommodate the three structures arranged in a row: west golden hall/pagoda/east golden hall. The roofed corridor, 6 m wide and placed 55 m east and west from the center of the pagoda, was of a simple type (*tanrō*), with no interior columns.[74]

South gate

Some 4.3 m south of the middle gate was the south gate (*nanmon*), placed very close to the middle gate. At 8.8 m × 4.6 m in dimensions, it is considerably smaller than the middle gate (fig. 1.1). This relationship was standard in the seventh century, contrasting with the opposite ratio in the eighth century, when important temples were provided with a great south gate (*nandaimon*).[75] A 1.5 m-wide roofed mud wall (*tsukijibei*) (fig. 1.13) was built from the sides of this gate to enclose the primary temple compound. In front of the south gate was a large, paved area, perhaps for gathering purposes or ceremonies (figs. 1.14, 1.15).[76]

West gate

There was also a large west gate (*saimon*) piercing the roofed mud wall. At 11.3 m × 5.3 m (four bays by two bays), it was substantially larger than the south gate (8.8 m × 4.6 m) and, as we saw earlier, seems to have been particularly important. Presumably there was also a gate through the west roofed corridor, since there are indications of a pathway, but one has not yet been found. In fact, there is still a lot not understood concerning the presence of gates elsewhere in the compound.[77]

Lecture hall

The lecture hall (*kōdō*) (fig. 1.16), located 19 m north of the roofed corridor, was a large-scale building, 43 m × 26 m in dimension. The conclusion that this structure was indeed the lecture hall was based on its dimensions and location to the north, both typical characteristics of that building type. It was quite difficult to excavate on account of other structures in the area. As the roofed corridor was reconstructed by the excavators, the lecture hall would have been placed outside of it, to the north, a standard arrangement for early temples in Japan. By analogy, it can be assumed that the priests' quarters (*sōbō*) were in this northern sector, but again, as a result of modern housing, it has not been possible to find them.[78]

IN CONSIDERING THE overall layout of the temple, several factors are important. First, all of the structures are aligned with true north rather than magnetic north, indicating that the directions were determined by



Fig. 1.15. View of paved area in front of south gate

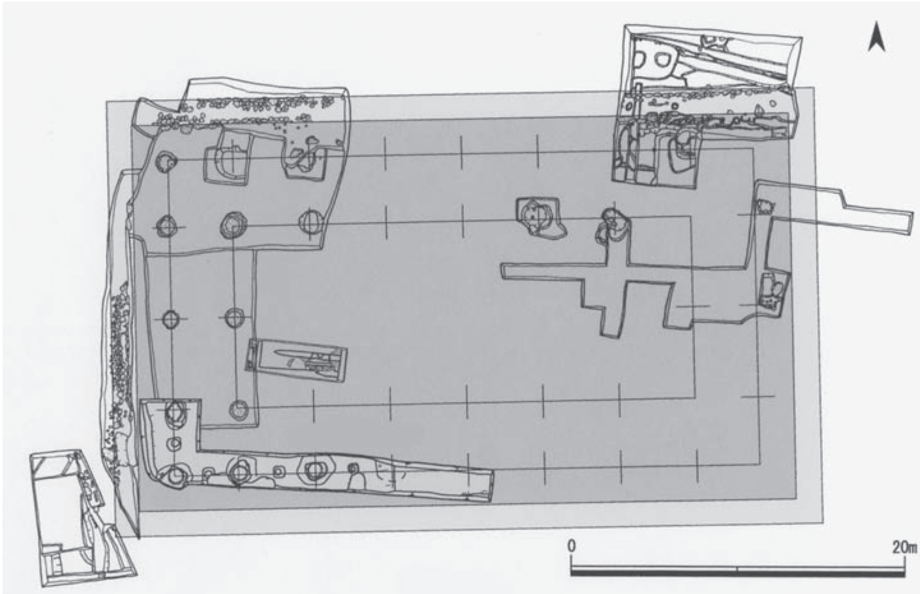


Fig. 1.16. Plan of lecture hall (2006 excavations)

astronomical observations. Apparently the surveyors were highly skilled, as there are only very minor deviations from the true directions. Second, the entire compound was laid out in a unit of measurement referred to as the Koma *shaku*. The Koma *shaku* is approximately 35.1 cm. Utilizing this figure, extremely regular dimensions are obtained, including many whole numbers such as 40, 50, 100, and so forth; obviously, such numbers are too exact to be coincidental. Furthermore, very harmonious proportions were established by this system. To give some examples of these ratios: the middle golden hall/lecture hall (east-west) are 6:10; the middle golden hall (north-south) and the lecture hall (east-west) are 1:2; the lecture hall (north-south) and the east-west golden halls (north-south) are 1:1. The measurement from the central point of the middle golden hall to the central point of the pagoda (75 Koma *shaku*) is the same as that from the central point of the pathway to the central axis of the east and west golden halls (each 75). Other examples could be adduced, but it is enough to say here that there was a very rational planning scheme that left nothing to chance.[79]

Shortly after it was recognized that Asukadera was laid out in the "three golden halls/one pagoda" format archaeologists searched for possible precedents on the Korean peninsula and pointed out several parallels, including Ch'ŏngam-li, Sang'o-li, Pongsan-kun T'sŏng-li, and Chŏngnŭngsa. In addition to these excavated sites, scholars also considered the account of Prince Stable Door's teacher, the Koguryŏ priest Eji (Kor. Hyeja), and the gift of gold said to have been presented by the king of Koguryŏ to Asukadera as further indications of relationships between the two states. The result of

this hypothesis is a joint Paekche-Koguryŏ complex, with specific elements derived from one or the other of the kingdoms: for example, craftsmen and tile types from Paekche, overall plan from Koguryŏ.

Senda Takemichi carefully analyzed this situation and suggested that it is improbable that the plan was based on a direct Koguryŏ precedent. He argued that since the builders came from Paekche, it is unlikely they would have adopted a Koguryŏ ground plan. Naturally they could have heard of a "three golden halls/one pagoda" layout, but none of the Koguryŏ examples look much like Asukadera, especially as they all have octagonal pagodas.[80]

Tiles

Roof tiles are so ubiquitous in Japanese architecture that it is sometimes forgotten that they appeared in temples almost one hundred years earlier than they were utilized for palaces and official buildings.[81] In this study they are of great significance for a variety of reasons: they provide information concerning lineages, they serve as chronological markers, and they are intrinsically beautiful objects. With regard to lineages, the traits of a given tile composition normally can be associated with continental and peninsular examples, thereby enabling a clearer understanding of prototypes and development. Within the Japanese islands extremely complex typological connections can be traced, often indicating important relationships among temples or groups of temples. As for their function as chronological markers, the stylistic and technical evolution of tiles have been studied intensively, with the result that it is usually possible to establish the date of a given example with great precision. There is no exaggeration in saying that the stylistic and technical traits of tiles are the most important resource for dating temples for which no, or only inadequate, documentary evidence exists. Since individual tiles were not considered to be of any significant value in the past, examples ordinarily exist at all temple sites. Furthermore, while the tiles are often broken, their shards, unless totally pulverized, can usually allow an accurate assessment of type and chronology. Statements concerning the great beauty of early tiles are rather subjective, but even a casual inspection of the tiles associated with our four temples reveals an extraordinarily interesting development.

The degree to which the evolution of Japanese tiles is determined by external influence versus internal development is an issue that is of considerable importance for this book.[82] Naturally, I am not suggesting that this is an either-or question, as certainly there were both external influence and internal development; the problem is to determine the relative degree of importance of these two factors.

As roof tiles will be of central concern in each chapter of the book, the

most efficient procedure may be to present a general discussion here to serve as background for the following three chapters. The two basic types are round roof tiles (*marugawara*) and flat roof tiles (*hiragawara*); these constitute the vast majority of the tiles needed to cover a roof. Flat roof tiles are actually slightly rounded, and they are placed directly on the roof with their concave side facing up; round roof tiles are then placed above so as to overlap two of the flat roof tiles, thereby sealing the roof surface. Because these tiles are entirely functional, relatively little attention has been directed to them. Much more interesting to the historian, however, are the round eave-end tiles (*noki marugawara*) and the flat eave-end tiles (*noki hiragawara*), since their outer surfaces are decorated, often in a quite complex manner, which we will consider in a moment. Other, more specialized tiles include gap-fill tiles (*mendogawara*), ridge roof tiles (*noshigawara*), cover tiles of the tail rafter (*odarukisakigawara*), cover tiles of the base rafter (*darukisakigawara*), and curved ridge-end roof tiles (*shibi*), but these are of less importance for the present study.[83]

A very large number of tiles is required to roof a temple building, necessitating significant effort at the kilns. Normally more than one kiln was utilized, leading to variations in the design of the tiles. Obviously, in siting a kiln, consideration must be given to access to clay, water, and firewood; for this reason often kilns were located at some distance from the temple being constructed although usually there were one or more kilns in the immediate vicinity. Much remains to be learned about kilns, but enough has already been found to allow at least basic statements as to their form and location.

While all the tile categories are important, the round eave-end tiles yield the largest amount of information for our purposes, although in the cases of Kudara Ōdera and Yakushiji the flat eave-end tiles are also significant. Japanese archaeologists have developed a comprehensive vocabulary to analyze the design of these tiles, and we shall utilize these terms throughout the study. Fig. 1.17 illustrates the analytical framework used by Japanese scholars in studying the round eave-end and flat eave-end categories.

Asukadera appears to show the initial occurrence of roof tiles in Japan, not surprisingly given that it is the earliest full-scale temple built in the country.[84] Although I am rather skeptical about "temples" preceding Asukadera, even if such existed, it is highly unlikely that they would have the complex structures required to support a very heavy roof. The round eave-end tiles of the initial period of Asukadera are quite simple in form, although some variation can be observed (figs. 1.18 left, 1.19). These tiles, referred to as the "plain-petal lotus flower" type, are directly related to those produced at Sabi, the final capital of the Paekche kingdom (fig. 1.18 right).[85] In the section entitled "Craftsmen and Priests from Paekche," textual evidence was pre-

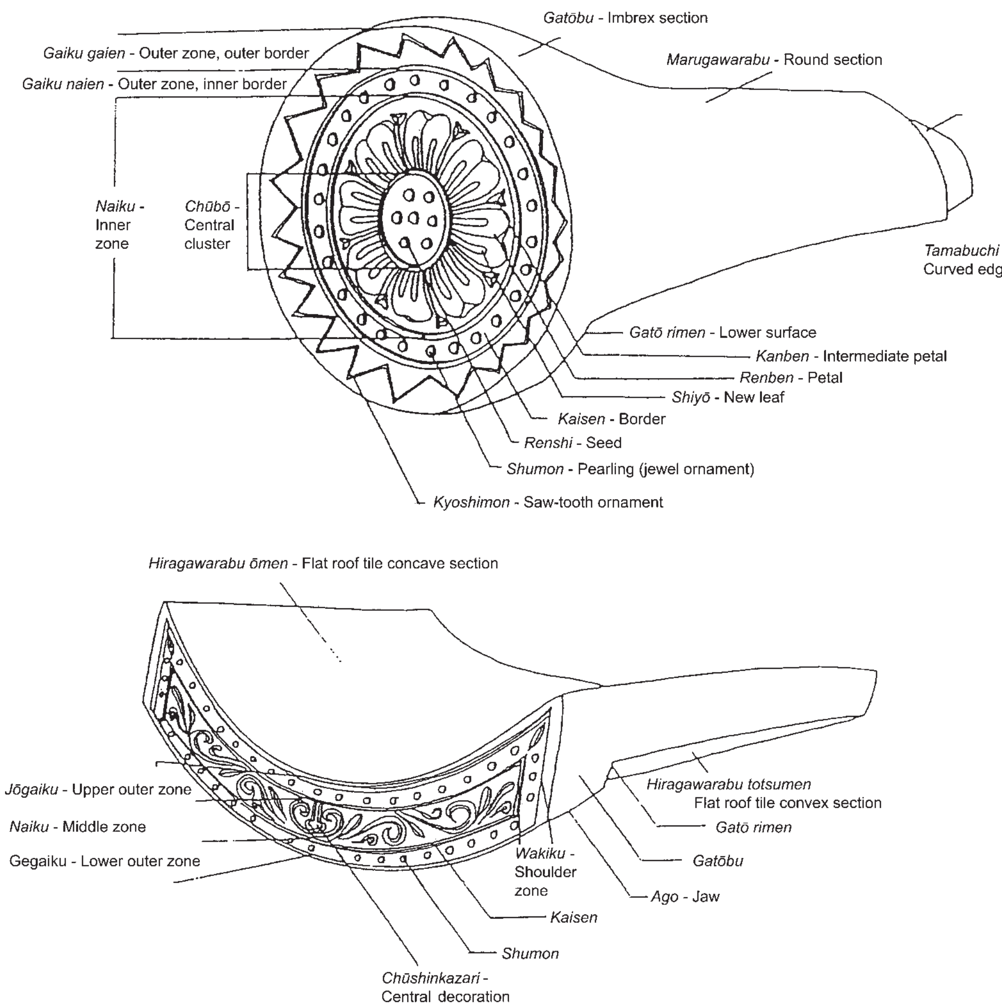


Fig. 1.17. Tile diagram: round eave-end tile (above); flat eave-end tile (below)

sented demonstrating the role of the peninsular tile-makers at the first stage of construction at Asukadera; while this linkage is well known, it is still important to keep in mind how rare such evidence really is.

Somewhat surprisingly, the early tiles at Asukadera display a varying number of petals, ranging from six to eleven, with the eight-petal type soon becoming standard; similar variety is seen in the Paekche tiles as well. Individual petals are quite simple in form, and the central seed pod is very small at this stage, with a single central seed surrounded by five, six, or seven additional seeds; the border of the tile is relatively narrow and undecorated. Specialists have subdivided the Asukadera round eave-end tiles into two broad categories: "flower group" (*hanagumi*) and "star group" (*hoshigumi*), and although this research is perhaps not directly relevant to the present





Fig. 1.18. Round eave-end roof tiles: Asukadera (left); Paekche (right)

study, it does elucidate certain problems. The two types are defined on the basis of subtle differences in the treatment of the petals, especially at the tip. Rather than representing a stylistic development over time, they appear to show the characteristic articulation of details at different kilns. An attractive hypothesis is that these variations might be connected to specific individuals among the four tile-makers who came from Paekche (588) to work on Asukadera, although this is highly speculative.[86] The flat eave-end tiles of the initial period of Asukadera are undecorated.

An aesthetic appraisal of the tiles is perhaps premature at this stage, as such a process is best carried out in comparative terms, a methodology followed in the subsequent chapters. Nevertheless, a basic characterization should be possible, most likely focusing on the simplicity and legibility of their design. Since roof tiles had not been previously utilized in Japan, we must assume that the stylistic characteristics of the Asukadera tiles would not evoke special mention; rather, they would be seen as one component of an overwhelmingly impressive architectural complex entirely new to the islands.[87]

Functions of Buildings

Asukadera had the usual architectural components for a full-scale temple: golden hall(s), pagoda(s), pathways, lamp, lecture hall, middle gate, outer gates, roofed corridor, and roofed mud wall. Given the sophistication of this ensemble, we might also assume that a belfry and a sutra hall were included, but these have not yet been located, nor have the residences for the priests, thought to be below modern houses to the north.[88]

Since all of the architectural types just listed will be considered through-



Fig. 1.19. Round eave-end roof tile

out this study, it is appropriate here to briefly discuss their functions. Two structures are of absolutely fundamental significance for a Buddhist temple: the golden hall and the pagoda. While these are of generally equal symbolic status, practically speaking a temple can exist without a pagoda, but not without a golden hall, so in that sense the golden hall may be said to be the more important.

Although I have been using the specific term "golden hall" (*kondō*), it may be preferable to utilize the more generic word "image hall," as that captures precisely the basic function of the building — to house the icon or icons. This building is also sometimes called the main hall — *hondō*. Usually one icon is designated as the main icon (*honzon*), and there also may be one, two, or several other icons of secondary importance. The main icon is sometimes housed in a shrine (*zushi*), and revealed to the worshiper only on special occasions, but often it is placed on a pedestal, not hidden from view. This shrine or pedestal is on an altar platform that is raised above the floor of the hall. The interior of the hall is usually decorated with a number of objects (*sōgon*), which may include canopies, baldachinos, floral wreaths (*keman*), strings of jewels, floral arrangements, incense burners and ritual objects, column and wall decorations, and so forth.[89]

In the case of the middle golden hall of Asukadera, a stone pedestal and a monumental gilt-bronze icon, probably the original main icon, are extant, but all of the other components from the early period have long since been lost. The large size of the main icon and the relatively modest scale of the middle golden hall make clear one of the main characteristics of the Bud-

dhist icon hall: while a priest or priests, and one or more worshipers, can be accommodated comfortably within its interior, fundamentally the icon hall should be conceptualized as a sacred space to house the deity, not as a place for general worship. Traditionally, access to the image hall was closely controlled, with only a few privileged people allowed to enter.

The East Asian pagoda, in form an eclectic combination of the Indian stupa and a Chinese tower type, is of enormous symbolic significance. Rising from a heart stone, ordinarily placed below ground level, is a wooden column that extends entirely through the center of the structure, emerging from the topmost roof where it is crowned by a bronze superstructure of considerable complexity. As we shall discuss presently, enshrined beneath the tall column are the relics, directly evoking the presence of the Buddha. The column itself represents the axis of the universe, with the relics at the base and the symbolical structure at the top, the *roban*. The importance of the *roban* can be deduced from the records in *Nihon shoki* and *Gangōji engi*, that a *roban hakase* (doctor of *roban* construction) came from Paekche to supervise the making of the top elements.[90]

Pagodas are built with an odd number of floors, most frequently three, five, or nine, but also occasionally seven or even more than nine. In the present study the three, five, and nine story variations will appear. Although it is not clear how many stories the Asukadera pagoda had, it is likely there were three or five. Soaring high above the other buildings, the pagoda (in some cases, pagodas) is a stirring sight and must have been especially so to the premodern viewer, unfamiliar with such tall buildings, except, perhaps, for watch towers. Certainly at the initial stages of Buddhism in Japan, the pagoda must have stood out as particularly impressive and mysterious, both in terms of height and complexity of construction.

The relics, axial column, and superstructure can be seen as the main components of a pagoda, but ordinarily a pagoda is also provided with icons of some sort. These would usually be arranged at the four sides of the pagoda (that is, at the cardinal directions) and could be a single icon to each side or a grouping of figures made of clay. We can also assume that there was painted decoration within the pagoda, although specific evidence for this at our period is lacking.

The inner area of the temple complex is provided with pathways (*sandō*) connecting the various buildings. Surrounding this area is the roofed corridor (*kairō*), a cloister-like structure usually closed at the outer surfaces, but open to the interior. It has a tiled roof, like the other buildings, and is relatively high, thereby obscuring a direct view of the central area. Not only the pagoda, but also the icon halls, rise above the top of the roofed corridor, thereby establishing their sacred presence but at the same time not revealing too much of their form. While this configuration undoubtedly

enhances the dignity and aura of the temple, we must suspect that there was also an effort to awe the viewer, in this way increasing the power and authority of the temple and, by extension, that of its patron.

Access to the inner area is through a gate at the front of the roofed corridor, referred to as the middle gate (*chūmon*). This structure is taller than the roofed corridor and is often of two stories. Ordinarily, large guardian deities are placed at either side of the middle gate. Depending on the temple, there may be other gates through the roofed corridor as well; while all these gates do indeed provide access, we should note that with their solid doors they also prevent access. Which function was primary undoubtedly varied, although in the seventh century I suspect that preventing access was prevalent.

The lecture hall (*kōdō*) serves as a gathering place for the priests, where they study the sutras and perform daily rituals. Although it would be provided with icons, these would usually occupy a smaller amount of space than those of the image hall since there had to be adequate room for the priests to assemble. For that reason the lecture hall is frequently larger than the image hall(s) although ordinarily not as tall. The placement of the lecture hall is somewhat less standardized than those of the image hall(s) and pagoda(s). Three basic placements occur: entirely within the roofed corridor, embedded in its rear side, or entirely outside (fig. 1.20). In the case of Asukadera we have the third possibility, but we will also see the other arrangements in this study.

A large-scale temple will also have a south gate (*nanmon*) or great south gate (*nandaimon*) and a roofed mud wall (*tsukijibei*) enclosing the temple complex. The south gate further prevents access to the inner areas, as does the wall, although the wall is usually not very high and so does not significantly hinder visual access. There can also be gates in the east, west, and north sides of this wall.

Quarters for the priests (*sōbō*) must also be provided; these are usually to the back of the compound although they may also be found at the two sides. Other sacred structures, which are not always present, include the belfry (*shōrō*) and the sutra hall (*kyōzō*); the former houses a large bronze bell that summons the priests to worship; the latter houses the Buddhist canon, one of the Three Treasures of the religion. If specific buildings are not provided, other arrangements would have to be made to accommodate temple bell and scriptures. A large-scale temple would also include service quarters for kitchens, storage, temple servants, and so forth.

Relics

In recent years art historians and historians of religion have increasingly recognized the fundamental significance of relics in Buddhist practice.

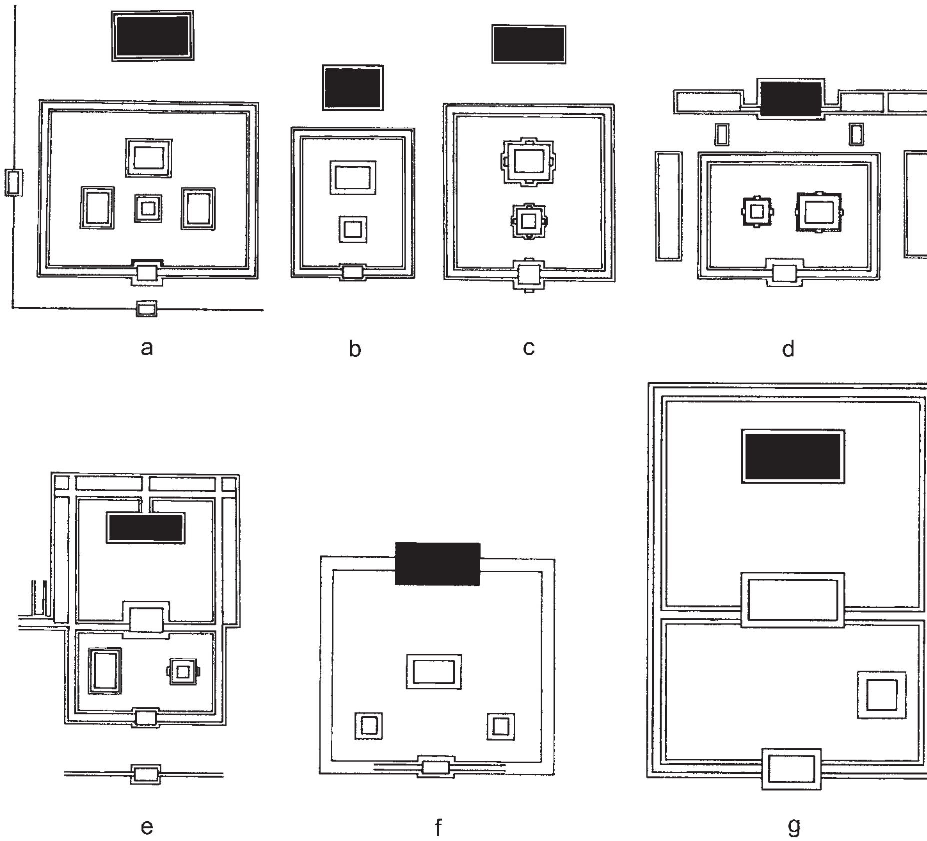


Fig. 1.20. Placement of lecture halls in early temples: a. Asukadera, b. Tachibanadera, c. Yamadadera, d. Hōryūji, e. Kawaradera, f. Yakushiji, g. Monmu Daikandaiji

Without a doubt, Western scholars have been influenced in part by the work of Peter Brown and other specialists, who have offered probing analyses of the Christian cults of relics.[91] Important exhibitions and publications have centered on East Asian reliquaries, conceived both as religious objects and as works of art. With regard to their artistic conceptualization, of course the function of the actual relics is invariably acknowledged, but the basic concern of art historians and museum curators is generally with the beauty, elegance, and lavishness of the reliquaries. For that reason we must resist the temptation to focus too strongly on the beautifully crafted "artworks," instead directing our attention back to the nature and function of the relics themselves.[92]

The position of the pagoda within a Buddhist temple emphasizes its symbolic role vis-à-vis the Buddha. Asukadera, as the first proper, full-scale temple in Japan, was provided with a pagoda placed, significantly, in the center and surrounded by three golden halls and a middle gate. Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct the architecture of the pagoda with total confidence, although by analogy with other pagodas we can form a reasonably accurate image of its original form.

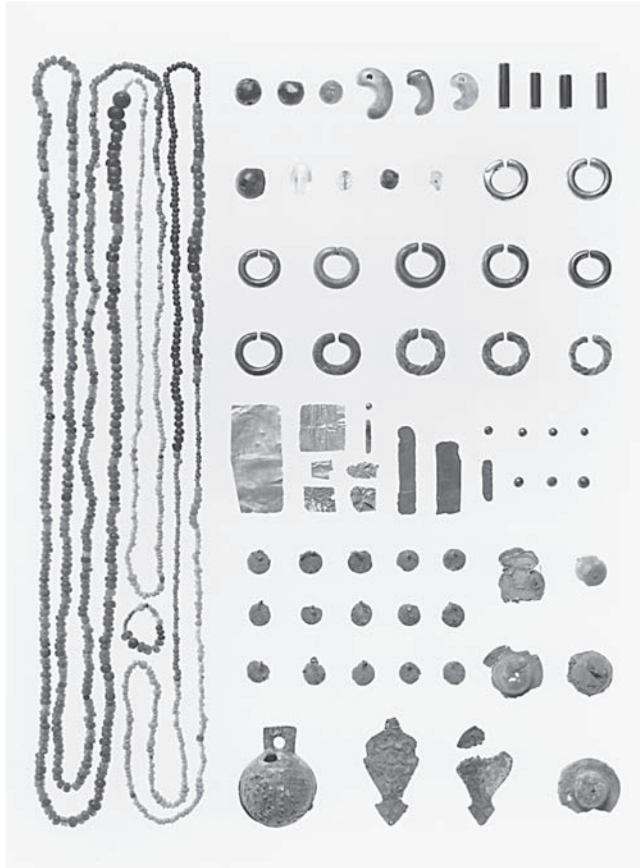


Fig. 1.21. Pagoda deposits: precious objects

Although the elements below ground are usually better preserved, here too Asukadera offers less complete knowledge than we desire because of the early Kamakura-period fire and the subsequent disturbance of the relics. Certainly the burnt-out remains of the pagoda must have been a sad, disturbing sight to those who knew something of the original power and grandeur of the seventh-century temple. Scattered over the surface of the heart stone, mixed in with charcoal, were various objects, including gilt-bronze strips and various types of small beads. The material at its east and southwest sides was located, still lying where it had been deposited when the pagoda was built: at the east side there was armor and at the southwest side there was a range of objects, including various beads, a granite whetstone, a horse bell, a horse banner holder, knives, pendants, and so on. As has always been noted, such material, which has little to do with Buddhist practice, is closely related to the kind of things found in a Kofun-period burial, especially the military equipment (fig. 1.22). Shortly after the fire the authorities dug into this area to the inner relic chamber, removed the relics,





Fig. 1.22. Pagoda deposits: armor (above), horse banner attachment (left)

prepared a new container, and then re-enshrined them. Only speculation is possible as to why this "religious excavation" was undertaken; it clearly was not a treasure hunt, for some objects were never removed, and others, which had been taken out, were subsequently re-enshrined. Since Buddhist relics normally consist of numerous small pieces of material, it seems quite possible that some of this material was not returned, perhaps being utilized for other purposes.

The fire of 1196, caused by lightning, destroyed the pagoda; in the following year the objects were dug out, supervised by priest Bengyō, later the Tōdaiji *bettō* (abbot).[93] *Moto Gangōji busshari shutsugen chūshinjō* states that several hundred pieces of relics as well as bronze objects were found.[94] From this brief description, it is hard to tell if the relics were deposited in the normal fashion, placed within a series of nested containers of various materials. Bengyō had a box made of *hinoki* wood, 10.8 cm sq and 8.5 cm tall, to contain the actual reliquary, which was a stupa-shaped bronze object, 3.3 cm tall. The box was deposited in a stone casket, consisting of two blocks of granite that had a cavity 20 cm in circumference to accommodate the box. This rested on top of the original heart stone, which was 2.7 m below the top of the pagoda platform. When the area was excavated in 1957, approximately 3,000 objects were found, all presumably from the original deposit with the exception of the stone casket, box, and bronze reliquary commissioned by Bengyō to reenshrine the relics.

Icons

A good deal of evidence is available for study of the icons of Asukadera, including the usual documentary sources as well as the extant main icon of the present temple, the so-called "Asuka Great Buddha" (Asuka daibutsu). Nevertheless, there are serious problems in assessing this evidence, and since many of the most influential art historians have presented their ideas, there has been significant debate. I will analyze some of the more stimulating theories since I believe they illustrate a number of key historiographical points. In a sense, these discussions are as significant as the icons, since the latter are now lost or severely damaged. Certainly, the historiography of the Asukadera icons — like that of the temple itself — illustrates essential traits of Japanese scholarship.

The earliest information concerns a small, stone Miroku image that Kafuka no omi brought from Paekche to Yamato in 584 and gave to Soga no Umako. Umako appears to have worshiped this image prior to construction of Asukadera, where it was later housed.[95]

Some scholars have argued that a term thought to be read "golden man" (金人) in the *Tō roban mei* refers to an early icon, although this is highly controversial, as we shall see in a moment. Further entries in *Jōroku kōmei* and *Nihon shoki* deal with major icons thought to have been produced between 605–606 or 605–609, and *Nihon shoki* also informs us that the sculptor was Tori busshi.[96] Finally, there is the monumental Asuka Great Buddha itself, enshrined in the main hall of Angoin, the successor to Asukadera (fig. 1.23). Unfortunately, the image has suffered very serious damage over the centuries, leading to significant problems of interpretation. Since the original configuration is not entirely clear, it is difficult to deter-



Fig. 1.23. Asuka Great Buddha

mine the image's stylistic lineage. More importantly, there is substantial ambiguity concerning the relationship of the present icon with the various documentary sources. All of these issues must be tackled as we study the historiography of the Asuka Great Buddha.

One of the great pioneers in the study of Japanese Buddhist art, Ishida Mosaku, visited the temple as early as 1917, at a time when the Asuka region was largely untouched by modern development. He began detailed examination of the sculpture in the early Shōwa period, studying it in 1928 and again in 1933. His description of the rough treatment of the image in the cleaning process makes amusing reading, especially in contrast to the current practice where such work is performed with white-gloved hands. Nevertheless, after removing the filth from the surface, Ishida was astounded by what he saw, for it was clear to him immediately that this was an Asuka-



Fig. 1.24. Pedestal for Great Buddha

period sculpture. Ishida asked the well-known photographer Ogawa Seiyō of Asukaen to photograph the sculpture, which led to a wide diffusion of the image's appearance.[97] There were also several very early publications in the West, including those in a book published by Karl With in 1922.[98] Although sculpture is not the focus of the present volume, it is important to note that Ogawa's photography played a key role in the study of the Asuka Great Buddha.

Fukuyama Toshio, of course, referred to the icon, but as his research was primarily philological, he did not deal with the style of the present-day Asuka Great Buddha to any great extent, confining himself to comments about its clumsy and archaic traits.[99] Although the image was mentioned sporadically during the war and postwar period, attention did not focus on it again until after the 1956–1957 excavations revolutionized the study of Asukadera. Immediately after these excavations, in a special issue of *Bukkyō geijutsu* devoted to the temple, Mizuno Seiichi, one of the great authorities on Buddhist sculpture, wrote a brief account of the image, but he did not present any detailed analysis.[100]

Art historians responded quite quickly to these excavations since the results seemed to promise resolution of some of the most troubling problems related to the icon. Mōri Hisashi, as mentioned, developed the "two-phase" theory based on the different foundation types of the middle golden hall/pagoda and the east-west golden halls.[101] He postulated that the middle golden hall and the pagoda, with their finer foundations, were completed

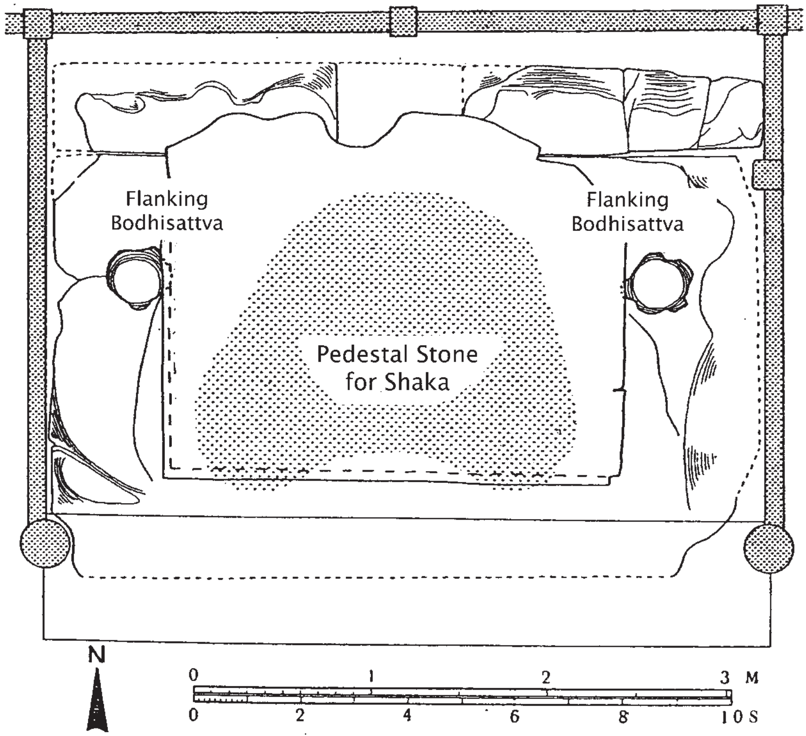


Fig. 1.25. Pedestal for Great Buddha, plan

in 596, thereby interpreting the *Nihon shoki* entry stating that the temple was complete in that year as referring to these two structures, his first phase (11–12). In discussing the main icon of this phase, Mōri followed a theory suggested in 1952 by Fujisawa Kazuo,[102] arguing that in the phrase "At the time, the people who were [ordered] to make and plan *something* were . . . ," the uncertain character is "gold." This yields the term "golden man," which is thought to refer to a Buddhist icon (Mōri, 12–13). Fujisawa further suggested that the four names following this phrase are the names of the sculptors (Mōri, 16–17). This article, of course, appeared prior to the 1956–1957 excavations and seems not to have attracted a great deal of attention initially, but with the necessity of now finding icons for *three* golden halls, his theory proved attractive. Mōri maintained that the main icon was completed in 596 and installed in the middle golden hall, where it has remained until the present day (13). He then suggested that the east and west golden halls were built later (his second phase), with their two sixteen-foot icons (bronze and embroidery) supervised by Tori in 605–609 (14–15). In *Gangōji engi* there is a mention of the making of the two sixteen-foot icons north of a place called Monomi no oka, the bronze image made to the east in a large hall eleven *jō* high, the embroidered icon made to the west in an octagonal hall.

Mōri very tentatively suggested that the "east" and "west" references seen here may recall the east and west golden halls of Asukadera.[103]

Perhaps the most striking aspect of Mōri's study is his suggestion that the great icon was made by individuals long domiciled in Yamato, rather than by artisans from Paekche, since sculptors are not mentioned in either *Nihon shoki* or *Gangōji engi* accounts of the 588 group. In putting forth this theory, the author must come up with a scenario explaining how his sculptors could have learned their craft. He did this by analyzing all of the references to images in Yamato prior to 588 and attempted thereby to demonstrate how such skills could have developed (16–18). As I have already discussed this matter in detail elsewere, I will not focus on it here other than to say I find it very unlikely that sculptors could make large-scale gilt-bronze images at such an early date.[104] We will return to this issue when we discuss Ōhashi's approach.

Machida Kōichi was the first scholar to respond directly to Mōri's theory, which he generally rejected.[105] Machida did not directly confront the "two-phase theory" and is less interested in the architectural development of Asukadera than most other historians. However, since he followed Fukuyama in believing that the *Tō roban mei* refers only to the pagoda and nothing else, by implication he is denying a "first phase" including pagoda and golden hall (Machida 128–135). Machida firmly rejected the theory that "golden man" is the equivalent of "Buddhist icon" and concluded that the controversial term probably refers to craftsmen; the principal reason for this is the hypothesis that the *Tō roban mei* would not have had a reference to the making of an icon. Consequently, he conceived of the four individuals listed after the controversial characters as being people who supervised the construction of the pagoda (131–132, 136–138).

As a historian of sculpture, Machida was most concerned with the production and style of the Asuka Great Buddha; perhaps his main insight was that a very large and ambitious commission would have required a long period of time to complete at the initial stage of Buddhist art in Japan (140–141). For this reason, he rejected Mōri's contention that such a monumental image could have been completed by 596, suggesting the present icon was only begun around that year and not completed until 609. By tracing the production process of the Asuka Great Buddha over a long period, Machida was denying Mōri's interpretation of the *Jōroku komei* and *Nihon shoki* accounts of the production of two sixteen-foot icons, one bronze, the other fabric, from 605 to either 609 (*Engi*) or 606 (*NS*). There are two important reasons for this: following Fukuyama, he believed that the fabric icon was part of the *Toyuradera engi*, only later added to *Gangōji engi* (134–135, 140), and he also thought the suggestion that there could have been two sixteen-foot bronze sculptures at this early stage is impossible, as it would have been too expensive (135–136). Since the 1956–1957 ex-

cavations revealed the presence of three golden halls, Machida was obliged to at least consider the icons of the east and west golden halls, and in this context, relying on documentary sources, he suggested that the east golden hall enshrined Kafuka no omi's stone Miroku; however, he was reluctant to speculate as to the icon of the west golden hall (141).

Machida carefully analyzed the casting process of the Asuka Great Buddha, concluding that while there may have been an excellent mold, the actual casting techniques were inadequate, leading to many faults. He was not at all surprised by this since it was an initial effort; furthermore, the repeated failures he postulated would have required many years of work before the image was ready. Although Machida stressed the very damaged condition of the image today, he was still interested in trying to place it stylistically. Since *Nihon shoki* asserts it was made by Tori busshi, he suggested that stylistic comparisons should be with the Shaka triad dated to 623 in the golden hall of Hōryūji, an icon that he believed is an autograph piece by Tori. Once again, he acknowledged the difficulties of such a comparative analysis but concluded there are enough common elements to make the Tori attribution plausible. In addition, he cited the close connection between the Soga and the Kuratsukuri clans as increasing the possibility of Tori having some role in making the Asuka Great Buddha (142–144). This is only a brief summary of Machida's research, but we will return to him.[106]

The French scholar Francois Berthier soon entered the fray with his own theory.[107] Basically, he rejected Machida's opinions and aligned himself with Mōri, as noted above. Berthier accepted the controversial "golden man" equals "Buddhist icon" equation, and the notion that the four following names in the text are those of the sculptors who made it. As discussed earlier, Berthier saw two very distinct phases: 588–596 and 605–609; during the first phase, Asukadera is conceived of as the clan temple of the Soga, while in the second, the "imperial" or royal family took control, making it a sort of semiofficial temple under their auspices. As will be clear from my historical introduction, I find the latter impossible and regard Asukadera as having been administered by the Soga throughout the Asuka period. In contrast, Berthier accepted the traditional view of Prince Stable Door, considering him a central player in early seventh-century politics; consequently, he accepted the veracity of the 605 and 606 entries in *Nihon shoki* stating that Stable Door and Suiko were closely involved with projects at the temple (Berthier, 65).

If I understand Berthier's theory correctly, he believed that the two architectural components of the temple were not only built at different times, but also that the second phase was not even planned at the time the principal structures were erected. Under this hypothesis, the buildings on the central axis were arranged in the north-south axial plan reflecting

the influence of south China via Paekche. Since the affiliation of the Soga with Paekche is well known, this aspect of Berthier's theory is reasonable. However, he gets into serious problems, in my view, when he related his second phase to the influence of Northern Wei via Koguryŏ. Berthier suggested that the new, centralized imperial Yamato state was based on the authoritarian governing style of north China and Koguryŏ, and that Stable Door's Buddhist teacher, Eji, said to be from Koguryŏ, encouraged the prince to adopt the "one pagoda/three golden halls" plan known in Koguryŏ (66–67). As we saw, the foundations of the structures of his second phase are of distinctly lower quality than those of his first phase; why the "imperial" commission would produce an inferior construction mode given Berthier's ideological preconceptions is unclear to me, and he does not seem to offer an explanation.

In his analysis of the present Asuka Great Buddha, Berthier asserted that it was made by Tori busshi in the early stage of his career (70). He reached this conclusion through a complicated comparison with the Hōryūji Shaka triad that he, of course, believed is the work of Tori. Berthier thought that the very fine foundations (and presumably the rest of the buildings) of the middle golden hall and the pagoda were made by craftsmen from Paekche, and that the original main image (that is, the "golden man") would also have been made in a Paekche style (71). As has been suggested, because the east and west golden halls are clearly inferior to the central buildings, they must have been built by indigenous craftsmen. Following this line of argument, when Tori busshi came to make the two sixteen-foot icons (bronze and fabric) between 605 and 609, he too would be working in a different style, derived from Northern Wei through Koguryŏ, and since the gilt-bronze image was made at the very beginning of his career, it displays a certain immaturity and crudeness. In particular, the casting was not of the highest quality. Berthier does not really explain how and when the Asuka Great Buddha was moved into the middle golden hall; nor does he tell us why that hall apparently had a very large stone pedestal from the beginning.

Machida delivered a strong attack on Berthier's approach, but it is vitiated by his incorrect summary of Berthier's position; it appears as if Machida was lumping Berthier and Mōri together, whereas in reality there are substantial differences in their theories. In particular, while Mōri believed the present Asuka Great Buddha is the "golden man" made in 596, Berthier thought it is the one made by Tori between 605–609.[108]

The most comprehensive analysis of the Asuka Great Buddha was by Kuno Takeshi, one of the most prominent historians of Japanese Buddhist sculpture.[109] Kuno had been active in the study of Asuka sculpture for many years, and in preparing his two-part article was able to draw on the research of Mōri, Machida, and Berthier. In responding to the theo-

ries developed as a result of the discovery of the "one-pagoda/three golden halls" plan, Kuno firmly rejected the "two-phase" theory. He also rejected two previous interpretations of the ambiguous characters, suggesting that the phrase simply means "skillful craftsmen" and has nothing to do with either an image or metal workers. Following Fukuyama, and taking the same position as Machida, Kuno believed that *Tō roban mei* refers only to the pagoda (Kuno, 41–44).

Although all scholars discuss the fact that the stone pedestal in the middle golden hall appears to be in its original position (figs. 1.24, 1.25), Kuno placed particular emphasis on both its location and material (Kuno, 44).[110] Kuno asserted that the original main icon of Asukadera was a Miroku, citing various sources to demonstrate his hypothesis (46). He then suggested that only a stone pedestal is appropriate for a stone image, logically leading to the conclusion that it must have originally supported a stone icon. Since the only icon at Asukadera mentioned prior to 605 is the stone Miroku brought from Paekche by Kafuka no omi in 584, and worshiped by Umako, Kuno concluded that this image was the original main icon of the temple (45, 48–49). Following from this, Kuno suggested that since Umako must have intended to have the stone Miroku as the main image from the beginning, there would have been no need to request a sculptor from Paekche along with the other craftsmen. This highly ingenious theory accounts in a logical manner for the early circumstances of Asukadera, but it has been severely criticized by other scholars for two reasons: the Kafuka no omi stone Miroku was presumably a tiny image and thus would seem to have been too small for the very large stone pedestal, and Kuno's assertion that a stone pedestal would never have been used for an image of different material (such as bronze) is incorrect.[111]

Kuno believed that in spite of ambiguous statements in the sources, something must have happened in the way of icon-making around 605, and he strove to determine what this might have been. His hypothesis is that Umako wished to make a highly impressive, sixteen-foot image at the very beginning of the seventh century in order to demonstrate his superiority over other aristocrats who had begun to make temples at this time (89). Kuno further speculated that when the sixteen-foot icon was completed, it was so impressive that Umako decided to enshrine it as the main icon of the middle golden hall. Since the original stone pedestal would have been extremely difficult to remove, it was left in place and received the gilt-bronze sixteen-foot Shaka image, which thereby became the main icon of the entire temple. The stone Miroku would then, of course, have been transferred to the east golden hall (90).

Kuno's hypothesis as to the process whereby icons were placed in the middle golden hall of Asukadera is quite speculative, although it certainly accounts for the early history of the temple in a clear and rational manner.

If we accept his premises, the conclusions flow logically; nevertheless, it is difficult to give credence to his theory any more than to previous ones, since there is too much ambiguity in the record to allow a definitive statement.

When Kuno turned to his examination of the actual image, I believe he is on firmer ground. Earlier scholars have usually maintained that only tiny sections of the original icon are preserved in the Asuka Great Buddha, and thus they have concluded there is no real basis for an analysis of the entire image. Kuno disagreed with this pessimistic assessment, asserting that more of the original icon survives than had been earlier thought. He pointed out that original pieces of bronze are incorporated into repaired sections in a manner that would be more difficult to carry out than if these areas were simply made from scratch without worrying about including fragments. This process indicated to Kuno a strong desire to retain as much of the original icon as possible and further suggests to him a strong consciousness of the traits of that icon. From that perspective, he proceeded to a careful analysis of the Asuka Great Buddha in order to determine the original form (92–93).

Kuno first examined the position of the legs, pointing out that the sole of the left foot can be seen resting on the right knee; this is opposite to the so-called Tori school (92–93). He also demonstrated that the arrangement of the robes is in a different configuration to that seen in Tori group images: while the robes of the Asukadera Great Buddha closely adhere to one of the standard formats seen in China and Korea, the format of Tori images are unique to Japan. For this reason Kuno believed the image could not have emerged from the Tori studio and most probably was made by a sculptor from Paekche familiar with the continental modes (93–95).

Ōhashi Katsuaki's theory concerning the construction process of Asukadera was utilized above in the discussion of the temple's architecture.[112] In his highly important essay, Ōhashi refers only in passing to one of Kuno's points, the idea that the controversial characters refer to skillful craftsmen, but he does not deal with Kuno's other arguments. Presumably, Ōhashi formulated his thesis for the 1976 publication and was not willing to incorporate Kuno's 1975 discussion into his essay. Subsequently, in other publications, Ōhashi does deal with Kuno's theories.

The treatment of the Asuka Great Buddha presented by Ōhashi in 1976 contains a good deal of important analysis and speculation even if it ignores most of Kuno's assertions. Inevitably, Ōhashi considers the problematical phrase, here with important new results. In summary, while he rejects the theories of Fujisawa-Mōri-Berthier (Buddhist icon), Machida (metal workers), and Kuno (skilled craftsmen), he concludes that the controversial character is, in fact, "gold" after a careful survey of Bengō's calligraphy (5–6). Ōhashi further argues that as Bengō frequently made mistakes in copying characters, we need not assume the character in question is accurately cop-

ied; on the basis of a comparative grammatical analysis, Ōhashi suggests the character is probably *tatematsuru,* "to respectfully offer," since parallel constructions are seen in the text. This hypothesis disposes of other theories and relates the enigmatic phrase to the rest of the prose. It certainly also eliminates the possibility that the character relates to the making of Buddhist icons (6–8).

Ōhashi has great respect for Fukuyama's analysis of *Gangōji engi*, but differs with regard to *Jōroku komei*; Ōhashi maintains that the second section, from the passage beginning with the date "thirteenth year," accurately records events of the Suiko reign.[113] As a result of this hypothesis he accepts the statements that: (a) bronze and embroidered *jōroku* icons were vowed in 605; (b) the king of Koguryŏ donated gold for the project; (c) the Sui ambassador's purported visit to the temple in 608; and (d) the icons were completed and installed in 609 (16). The Sui ambassador, Fei Shiqing and his party, are recorded in *Sui shu* as coming to Yamato in 608, at which time they were warmly welcomed by the court. Since this event is also given extensive coverage in *Nihon shoki*, there can be no doubt as to its occurrence.[114] Their mission is recorded in *Jōroku komei* directly after the account of the gift of gold by the king of Koguryŏ, and although it has been suggested that the embassy brought the gold to Yamato, the text does not specifically mention this. With regard to a possible visit to Asukadera, while not a verifiable fact, it seems plausible given the importance and splendor of the new temple.[115]

Ōhashi argues that because, in his view, the middle golden hall was completed around 600 or 601, work would have started on the main icon at about that time. This dissolves the nine year gap that troubled Fukuyama and others. Ōhashi also believes the embroidered sixteen-foot icon was begun about this time. While most other scholars have been doubtful about the gold said to have been donated by the king of Koguryŏ, Ōhashi is willing to accept the story given other indications that appear to suggest quite strong connections with Koguryŏ. Of course, no one rejects the account of the Sui ambassador's visit in 608, as it is recorded in Chinese histories, but Ōhashi does not agree with the idea that this embassy delivered the gold because Sui and Koguryŏ were on very bad terms at this time, making it unlikely that Koguryŏ would have been enlisting Sui's help (17).

Fukuyama suggested that the detail of the icons being started and finished on the same day (4th month, 8th day) is suspicious, but Ōhashi follows Machida in believing there is nothing unnatural about associating such crucial events with the birthday of the Buddha (17).

As a result of the preceding analysis, Ōhashi gives a great deal of credence to this section of *Jōroku kōmei*, and consequently he is certain the process recorded there is reliable. Concerning the 605 and 609 dates, he connects

the former with "respectfully made" (*uyami tsukuri* [*keizō*]) and the latter with "end work" *(tsukuri oete* [*hikkyō*]); since the second term must refer to the completion of the icon, only the first needs further clarification (18). Ōhashi believes preliminary work on the sixteen-foot gilt-bronze icon commenced around 601, and casting may have begun in 605. He also accepts the account in *Nihon shoki* that Tori busshi made the two sixteen-foot icons (18).

What, then, of the icons of the east and west golden halls? As Ōhashi notes, these two halls are rather long and narrow, making it unlikely they were designed for a gilt-bronze sixteen-foot statue. Following the documentary sources, he concludes Kafuka no omi's stone Miroku was enshrined in the east golden hall; he thinks it unlikely only one small icon was on the altar and thus asserts that a number of small-scale icons were lined up on the altar, presumably images accumulated by the Soga over the years. This leaves the west golden hall, and by a process of elimination Ōhashi concludes the sixteen-foot fabric icon was installed there; since that icon was two-dimensional, it would fit properly into the space (18).

Since I have dealt elsewhere in detail with Ōhashi's theory concerning the participation of Tori busshi in the making of the Asukadera icons, here only a brief summary is necessary.[116] Ōhashi believes that among the individuals who came from Paekche in 577, the sculptor mentioned in the entry must have served as a teacher for Tori and other young men. When Soga no Umako requested craftsmen from Paekche in 588, the reason he did not ask for a sculptor was because Tori was already skilled in this art; then by the time work on the sixteen-foot gilt-bronze icon began around 600, Tori had already surpassed his master and consequently received the commission.[117] For reasons that I spell out in "Tori-busshi and the Production of Buddhist Icons in Asuka-period Japan," this scenario seems to me highly unlikely. How, for example, would a sculptor domiciled in Yamato gain the knowledge and experience to make a sixteen-foot gilt-bronze icon even if trained by a master craftsman from Paekche?

Ōhashi offered his analysis and conclusions to the scholarly community in the two journal articles cited above but he has also recently published a more popular account in *Asuka no bunmei kaika*.[118] That book surveys the entire historiography of Asukadera and its icons, but for the present purposes most significant is his discussion of Kuno's theories. As usual, the stone pedestal in the middle golden hall plays an important role and, not surprisingly, Ōhashi disagrees with Kuno's theory about the stone Kafuka no omi Miroku as the original icon for three reasons: he cites other examples of different materials for icon and pedestal; he points out that if Kuno believed it would be unnatural to place a bronze icon on stone pedestal, then is there not a contradiction in maintaining this was done later;

and the usual opinion that the Kafuka no omi image was too small for such a large pedestal (*Bunmei,* 213–214).

As noted above, a significant contribution of Kuno's study was the analysis of the degree to which the present Asuka Great Buddha relates in form to the original icon. In response, Ōhashi presents documentary evidence indicating the destruction of 1196 was nearly total, thus advising caution in attempting to derive conclusions from the current state of the statue (*Bunmei,* 218). Since some information was derived from an x-ray study of the image, Ōhashi is willing to consider the possibility that aspects of the original icon may still be seen in the Asuka Great Buddha (*Bunmei,* 215). That being said, he does not accept key points in Kuno's hypotheses. For example, the thickness (Asuka Great Buddha) and thinness (Shaka triad) of the fingers that Kuno believed indicate that the Buddha was not by Tori, are explained by Ōhashi in terms of the relative scale of the two images. Similarly, the presence or absence of holes in the earlobes may also be due to the same factor (*Bunmei,* 217).

Particularly complex is the analysis of the robes. Kuno believed those of the Asuka Great Buddha follow a standard model, while those of the Hōryūji Shaka do not, thereby suggesting the two could not have been made by the same master (that is, the Asuka sixteen-foot icon was not by Tori). In contrast, Ōhashi interprets such disparities in chronological terms, the Shaka triad having been made some years after the Asuka Great Buddha. Although Kuno particularly stressed what he saw as the variant arrangement of the legs, Ōhashi feels that given the degree of damage in this area, it is unwise to base any strong conclusions on such uncertain evidence (*Bunmei,* 216, 218).

The theories concerning the status of the Asuka Great Buddha have certainly not led to definitive results; rather, there are only varying degrees of plausibility. Nevertheless, as I have a responsibility to offer my own interpretations of the data, I will put forth some tentative conclusions, drawing on aspects of practically all of the previously cited theories.

On balance, the analyses of the documentary material holding that only the pagoda was completed in 596 appear most reasonable for at least two reasons: the assumption that the *Tō roban mei* would refer to other buildings is unconvincing, and the idea that a large-scale temple could have been completed so rapidly is unlikely. Consequently, the hypothesis that the golden hall was built after the pagoda, between ca. 596–600/601 results in a smooth chronology for construction. Then, following Machida's analysis, allotting the years ca. 600–609 to the production of the monumental sixteen-foot Buddha seems appropriate, especially when we recall that the Yamadadera Yakushi triad required seven years (678–685) at a time when much greater experience would have been available.[119] I assume Tori had a

supervisory role in the project, although, as I have argued elsewhere, I do not believe that he was a hands-on sculptor. For this reason I would suggest the various subtle differences in style and motif observed by scholars such as Machida, Kuno, and Ōhashi are best accounted for as resulting from the specific mode brought to the islands by a peninsular master craftsman; I would further argue that this process explains reasonably well the general stylistic diversity noted in the Soga-Tori group of Asuka sculpture.[120]

An enormous amount of ink has been spilled on the question of the ambiguous character ("golden man") to very little avail. From my perspective the hypothesis that the unclear phrase refers to a Buddhist icon is not at all satisfactory, but beyond even that, such an interpretation assumes there was a large icon present in 596, a theory that I have already rejected. Various alternate interpretations were cited above, including metal worker and skilled craftsman, but on balance Ōhashi's grammatical exegesis is the most convincing—that is to say, the copyist, Bengō, frequently made mistakes thereby allowing for the amendment of *tatematsuru* ("respectfully offer") to parallel usage in related clauses. Regardless of one's exact conclusions, I would suggest the equation of these characters with a Buddhist icon is not at all convincing.

Remaining is the problem of the east and west golden halls. I believe enough evidence, both archaeological and historical, has been presented to discredit the "two-phase" theory in any of its variations. Therefore, the most likely possibility is that these two halls were built in the years after 600, when the middle golden hall had been completed, and perhaps required approximately eight to ten years. Firm documentary evidence indicates the small stone Miroku brought by Kafuka no omi from Paekche in 584 was installed in the east golden hall; as Ōhashi has pointed out, a single small icon would be rather lonely in such a big hall and thus suggests a group of small icons accumulated by the Soga clan may have been arranged on the long, narrow altar.[121] Presumably there would not have been adequate space for a large-scale image. Many difficulties are encountered in interpreting Tori's two sixteen-foot icons, one bronze, the other fabric, as cited in *Nihon shoki* and *Gangōji engi*, but the most likely scenario is that a large fabric icon was made for the west golden hall, since such an icon would fit neatly into the available space.

This study is concerned primarily with the historical position of the Four Great Temples, especially in terms of how these temples and their icons functioned during the seventh century. As a consequence, since the long preceding section has only begun to exhaust the problems concerning the icons of Asukadera, a fuller treatment, especially of the Asuka Great Buddha, will have to await a separate study.

Conclusion

In the course of this chapter a wide range of issues has been discussed, some quite technical in nature, so perhaps it is now appropriate to step back for a moment and consider the larger picture. As has been mentioned repeatedly, Asukadera is not only the first full-scale temple built in Japan, it is really the first proper Buddhist temple in any meaningful sense. The sources tell us of "temples" in the earlier 580s, but these apparently were buildings converted from other uses, and they were ephemeral at best.[122] Consequently, the present situation involves the onset of a tradition marked by a very large and sophisticated compound, surely an unusual situation. Perhaps it is simplistic to assume that there should be a gradual progression from small to intermediate and then on to grander establishments just because something of that nature can be observed elsewhere; nevertheless, I believe that we must always keep in mind the status of Asukadera at its inception: a grand project filled with novel components including a soaring pagoda, large buildings roofed with tiles, and beautiful colors for parts of the structures. Of course, I am here referring only to elements visible from outside since, as already suggested, few people could expect to enter the temple through the gates: general symbolism was carried by the exterior, and not even all of that could be seen.

In thinking about Asukadera, perhaps more attention should be given to the pagoda. Because pagodas are such a common element of Japanese temples, we perhaps tend to take the form for granted, and yet we must make an effort to view the Asukadera pagoda from the perspective of the last decade of the sixth century — seen from that viewpoint, it is truly an astounding achievement. Our study of *Tō roban mei* argues that the text refers only to the building of the pagoda; we further noted that a large number of craftsmen were summoned from Paekche to carry out construction. Probably the erection of the pagoda was the single most complex aspect of the entire project, thus necessitating specialists with various skills because just building such a tall structure was unprecedented in the early architecture of Japan and the engineering problems alone would have been daunting. That, combined with the complexity of the bracketing system, must have challenged those who supervised the project and those who carried out the actual work; of course, the master craftsmen from Paekche had previous experience in their homeland, but they still had to train local workers to perform the various tasks. A very few members of the elite undoubtedly had seen pagodas in China and on the Korean peninsula, but for virtually the entire population the building of the Asukadera pagoda must have evoked amazement and awe.

Asukadera was the Soga clan temple; obvious as that statement must

seem, too often the relationship between the grandiosity referred to in the preceding paragraph and this premier clan has been distorted or ignored. Much scholarship is only too ready to slip into a focus on Prince Stable Door, Suiko tennō, and, above all else, Hōryūji. And yet we can easily establish that these individuals and that temple pale in relationship to Umako and Asukadera. Only the wealthiest and most powerful family would have had the resources to even contemplate such an enormous project and then only if they had the imagination to exploit the Buddhist institutions and forms for their own political needs. Perhaps I am too strident in these assertions, but I fear that the current beauty, even magnificence, of Hōryūji and its treasures, combined with a pervasive imperialist ideology result in a version of history that is unacceptable in objective terms

My stress thus far has been on the external, but we have also devoted considerable attention to relics and icons; certainly, these aspects of the temple were of crucial importance to the Soga and their advisors and so they must be to us as well. And here, too, we see at the very onset of a tradition an effort to make an enormous gilt-bronze icon. Doubts remain as to how successfully the technical problems were dealt with, and it should not be surprising if some failures occurred; nevertheless, in this component as well, the Soga were striving for the best possible, and to a large extent they were successful. As we have seen, it is difficult to determine with confidence the imagery in all of the halls, but it is most likely that these icons were also impressive and displayed in equally impressive surroundings.

Not a great deal can be said about ritual as a result of limitations in the documents, but it is certain that elaborate ceremonies were carried out at Asukadera from the beginning. Similarly, we can say little about Buddhist scholarship at this early stage, although it does not seem very likely that the requisite knowledge was widespread so soon; only in later decades, and especially from the second half of the seventh century, did Asukadera truly become a center of learning. It is perhaps fair to assert that during the early years the Soga clan would not have demanded such things, and only later would the requisite patronage be available. Presumably, this would have gone hand in hand with the gradual formation of an educated priesthood, in many cases consisting of individuals who had spent years of study in China or Korea.

Given the supreme importance of Asukadera for the early development of Buddhism and Buddhist art and architecture in Japan, I have tried to consider the major issues in appropriate detail. Moreover, I have emphasized the centrality of the Soga clan for this project as a corrective to other approaches that see the royal family as making a significant contribution to the building of Asukadera. With that said, we shall next consider the first indubitable royal temple, the mysterious Kudara Ōdera.



Chapter Two

KUDARA ŌDERA

KUDARA ŌDERA HAS BEEN one of the great mysteries of the seventh century — although amply documented in ancient sources, little information is provided in these texts relating to its precise location. How different this is from the situation of Asukadera. Scholars have long been puzzled about the problem, especially given the association of Kudara Ōdera with the royal family. Many questions arise, one of the most significant being was it really possible that a grand temple with a nine-story pagoda was actually constructed at such an early stage in the development of Buddhism in Japan. If our response to this is positive, as I believe it should be, a series of problems emerge: when was the temple built? what was its location? and why was it commissioned? Fortunately, within the last few years archaeological investigation has revealed a site that is quite possibly that of Kudara Ōdera, and this allows formulation of a more satisfactory account of the temple than was previously possible. Before turning to the temple, however, let us briefly review some of the major historical and religious developments of the second quarter of the seventh century.

Historical Introduction

In the previous chapter I suggested that the so-called "imperial" family had no substantial connection with Buddhism in the later sixth and early seventh centuries. Certainly Suiko had little if anything to do with the new religion and Prince Stable Door is an enigmatic character, to say the least. Rather, it was the Soga clan, and especially its leader, Soga no Umako, who were dominant in the support and utilization of Buddhism. Consequently, the preceding chapter attempted to deal with the initial phase of Buddhism in Japan in a fresh manner, focusing on Asukadera, the clan temple established by Soga no Umako around 590. By the time of Umako's death the temple was probably largely complete and continued in its

position as a central institution of Buddhism in Asuka until the move to Heijōkyō in 710.

Scholars have always seen a significant transition from the first to the second quarter of the century; many orthodox historians emphasize the deaths of Prince Stable Door in 622 and Suiko in 628, but I believe that the death of Umako in 626 was probably of much more importance. Certainly, the Soga remained the dominant political force during these years, and Umako's son, Emishi, and grandson, Iruka, carried on the authority of their family.[1]

With the death of Suiko we are told that a serious succession dispute took place. The most likely "royal" candidate, Prince Stable Door, had already died, as had Prince Takeda, a son of Suiko and Bidatsu. Prince Yamashiro, son of Stable Door, was supposed to be a very strong candidate, although this can be questioned. In any case, Prince Tamura, of the Bidatsu line, supported by Soga no Emishi, became monarch as Jomei. He is said to have lived from 593–641 and reigned from 629–641[2] (see Genealogy 1).

Prince Tamura has an especially interesting lineage. He was the son of Prince Oshisaka Hikohito, the eldest son of Bidatsu, and, significantly, Oshisaka Hikohito's mother was Hiro hime, a princess of the Okinaga clan, not a Soga. Although Oshisaka Hikohito died before he had a possibility of ascending the throne, he and Princess Nukate, a non-Soga consort, produced Prince Tamura; clearly we see here a line without substantial Soga components, a rather unusual state of affairs for the period.

Why, then, did the Soga allow Tamura to accept the throne? One theory is that Tamura had as a consort a daughter of Umako, Hōtei no iratsume, and since the couple produced a son, Prince Furuhito, presumably the Soga thought this would ensure their continuing dominance at court.[3] If this was the strategy, it failed, because Furuhito, like Oshisaka Hikohito earlier, died before he could compete for the throne. Subsequently, a non-Soga consort of Tamura, Princess Takara, produced the heirs who later reigned as Tenji and Tenmu. A glance at Genealogy 1 shows that there is a non-Soga line extending through several generations.

Historians have long puzzled over Jomei's reign, since so little seems to have occurred, and it is almost impossible to get a sense of him as an individual; in fact, we would not be discussing him here except that he is the person who is said to have founded the first "imperial" temple, Kudara Ōdera. As is ordinarily the case, the prime source of information about Jomei is *Nihon shoki*; somewhat surprisingly, more than half of the text consists of a long narrative concerning the succession dispute between him and Yamashiro.[4] Frequently an entire year of his reign is represented by only a single or a few entries, and those are usually very short. For example, *Nihon shoki* offers the following details for Jomei's reign, surely not one of the most exciting in Japanese history:

Jomei 6: A long star was seen in the south.[5]
Jomei 7: The long star went around and was seen in the east.[6]
Jomei 8 : There was an eclipse of the sun.[7]

Things pick up a bit in the third month of the eighth year:

> All those who had had illicit intercourse with the Uneme were put on trial, and were all punished.[8]

Fortunately, the situation soon returned to normal:

Jomei 9: A great star floated from east to west, and there was a noise like thunder.[9]
Jomei 10: There was a great storm, which broke trees.[10]

I exaggerate, but only slightly, in capturing the flavor of the Jomei reign as it was recorded.[11] We get the impression that essentially he did nothing political, surely an appropriate role for a priestly ruler. Nevertheless, imperialist historians place great weight on what they see as his diplomatic activities. Early in the reign envoys from Koguryŏ and Paekche arrived, a normal occurrence, but of more significance, in the second year of his reign, was the dispatching of Inukami no kimi Mitasuki and Kusushi E'nichi to the Tang court.[12] Almost exactly two years later, Mitasuki (and presumably E'nichi) returned to Yamato with the Tang envoy, Gao Biaoren, and his mission; they were received at court, but quarreled with the monarch and returned to China at the beginning of the next year. This is the totality of Tang-Yamato relations for the next twenty years, at least as recorded in *Nihon shoki*, and the balance of diplomatic activity is related to a few missions from the Korean Three Kingdoms.[13]

Particularly significant for our purposes are the entries recording the return of Japanese students and priests; the following are pertinent:

Jomei 4: The Japanese student priests, Ryōun and Sōmin, returned from China.[14]
Jomei 11: The student priests, Eon and Eun returned from Tang with the Silla envoys.[15]
Jomei 12: The student priest Seian returned.[16]

A theory, put forth strongly by Ōhashi Katsuaki and other scholars, is that the returning envoys, students, and priests gathered at Jomei's court, not at Soga headquarters; Ōhashi further assumes that the Buddhist priests converted Jomei to Buddhism. (Ōhashi acknowledges that Suiko was not affiliated with Buddhist practice.) Therefore, the argument is made that the order to build a "great temple" — Kudara Ōdera — was based on this conversion of Jomei to Buddhism.[17] Kumagai Kimio, while relating the construction of Kudara Ōdera to the returning students and priests, pro-

vides a more politically nuanced analysis of the motivations for the project; this will be discussed presently.[18]

Jomei initially lived in the Asuka Okamoto Palace, but left it in 636.6 when it was destroyed by fire and moved to the Tanaka Palace, apparently a temporary residence. On 639.12.14, he went to a palace at the hot springs of Iyo, staying there for several months, and upon his return he moved into the Umayazaka Palace, again probably temporary quarters. His frequent moves reflect a well-established practice of the early elite, who frequently changed their residences, which clearly indicates that these structures were neither very large nor durable. Most intriguing in Jomei's case is the Kudara Great Palace, as it was directly related with his vowing in 639 of Kudara Ōdera. He moved into this palace in 640.10, a little more than a year after the order to build was promulgated, and then a year later died there; in 641.10, his body was placed in the *mogari no miya* built nearby.[19] Unlike Kudara Ōdera, which continues in the records for several decades, Kudara Palace largely disappears from the scene.

I have examined the chronology of Jomei's palaces in some detail since it contrasts significantly with the chronology of the temple. As discussed in the previous chapter, a large-scale temple could take years or decades to complete; why then would a palace require only a year or so? In fact, this is a plausible time framework since the construction techniques for palaces were much less complex than those for temples, with columns simply buried in the earth and the roof thatched. A palace did not require the elaborate foundations with column stones and tiled roofs of a temple. Moreover, from a political perspective, it would have been essential to complete the palace before the temple, since the temple was a long-term project.

Some scholars, notably Mifune Takayuki, have maintained that Jomei was actually a more substantial character than I have indicated here. In addition to the above- mentioned diplomatic and Buddhist activities, Mifune refers to Jomei's campaigns against the Emishi and Yaku, his severe punishment of those who raped the Uneme, and his regulation of entry into court. Mifune particularly stresses Jomei's power to draft laborers from widely separated provinces to work on the construction of the great palace and great temple, which he sees as representing a significant expansion of royal authority.[20]

Undoubtedly, Jomei is best known in the popular imagination through a poem of his included in *Man'yōshū*:

Poem by the Emperor when he climbed Kagu Hill to view the land

Many are the mountains of Yamato
but I climb heavenly Kagu Hill
        that is cloaked in foliage,
and stand on the summit

to view the land.
On the plain of the land,
smoke from the hearths rises, rises,
On the plain of waters,
gulls rise one after another.
A splendid land
is the dragonfly island,
the land of Yamato.[21]

After Jomei's death, he was succeeded by his widow, Princess Takara, who first ruled as Kōgyoku.[22] As was the case several decades earlier, when Suiko succeeded at the death of Sushun, Princess Takara probably took the throne because the most likely heir, Prince Naka, was still only sixteen years old. Her first reign (642–645), while short, appears to have been replete with significant political struggle. The key event, seen as a great tragedy by imperialist historians, was the assassination in 643, by Iruka, the son of Soga no Emishi, of Prince Yamashiro, the son of Stable Door, as well as his entire family. This event, referred to as the "Destruction of the Jōgū line," is woven into the narrative of the Stable Door/Shōtoku myth, producing a poignant and sad conclusion to the prince's career. In the background of these accounts is the desire to see Crown Prince Saintly Virtue as a sage monarch, succeeding his aunt Suiko, and then being in turn succeeded by Prince Yamashiro and Yamashiro's son.[23]

All of this was not to be, but fortunately there was a convenient villain to whom blame could be attached, Soga Iruka, the cruel assassin. Patriotic imperialists imagine the exemplars of virtue and justice outraged by the pitiless slaughter of Yamashiro and his family and assume that they were patiently waiting for the opportunity for revenge; the opportunity was seized in 645, when Kōgyoku's son, Prince Naka, assassinated Iruka at court in front of the empress. *Nihon shoki* tells us that Kōgyoku was very disturbed by this event, hardly the response we might imagine if Iruka was so universally loathed; in fact, Iruka is said to have protested his innocence to Kōgyoku, and it was only after Prince Naka explained that Iruka had been plotting to take the throne that she comprehended the nobility of her son's act. Needless to say, Iruka's father, Emishi, and other members of the family also had to be executed, an act carried out by various followers of Prince Naka.[24]

There is a telling detail in the *Nihon shoki* account of the downfall of the main line of the Soga clan: when Emishi and his associates were about to be killed, the text states that they attempted to burn two histories, *Record of the Emperors* (*Tennōki*) and *Records of the Country* (*Kokki*). At such a perilous point in their lives, as they were just about to die, why would the Soga leaders be wasting time in document destruction? An obvious answer

is that this story was fabricated by the royal faction since these histories probably contained a narrative they did not want propagated, presumably a narrative showing that the distinction between the "royal clan" and the "Soga clan" was not at all as later accounts suggest. Significantly, one of Prince Naka's retainers, Fune no fuhito Esaka, was able to save some of the material from the flames, but we can easily surmise that nothing was saved that failed to cast the "imperial line" in the most favorable manner.[25]

Despite the treasonous activities of Iruka and, perhaps, Emishi, they were permitted a proper burial: "On this day permission was given for the interment of the bodies of Emishi, Soga no Omi, and Kuratsukuri (= Iruka) in tombs. Lament for them was also allowed."[26] Nevertheless, even after this statement *Nihon shoki* discusses three popular songs relating to Soga guilt.[27]

Kōgyoku abdicated the day after Iruka was assassinated and was succeeded by her brother, Prince Karu, who reigned as Kōtoku. Obviously some sort of coup had taken place, although it is hard to determine exactly what had transpired. *Nihon shoki* tells us that early in the reign of Kōtoku a new government was proclaimed in the famous Taika Reform (Taika no kaishin) edicts; the historicity of this proclamation has been debated endlessly, and we certainly cannot deal with it in any detail here.[28] Although I have doubts about the authenticity of the edicts, it must be acknowledged that there was a significant transition in politics towards the end of the second quarter of the seventh century. The main line of the Soga clan, dominant for at least one hundred years, fell from power. This family, which had been innovative at the early stages, seems to have become increasingly conservative and was certainly out of touch with important developments taking place in China during the first decades of the Tang dynasty. Consequently, alliances among people with newer ideas were developed, and it was this group that exercised political power after the fall of the Soga main line. We need to stress "main line," as other branches of the clan continued to occupy powerful positions and assert their authority.

Kōgyoku had lived in the Asuka Itabuki Palace, but Kōtoku broke with precedent and moved to what is present-day Osaka, where he built the Naniwa Palace.[29] This is believed to have been the first full-scale palace in Japan, and although it is fascinating in its own right, it has only a peripheral relationship to the Four Great Temples, all of which were in the Asuka-Fujiwara area. Nevertheless, the transfer of the capital-palace to Naniwa was a fairly drastic move surely signifying important new developments at mid-seventh century.

Towards the beginning of Kōtoku's reign, *Nihon shoki* provides a detailed account of the history of Buddhism in Japan; significantly, this history is told entirely in terms of Soga activities, focusing on Soga no Iname and Soga no Umako. Naturally, since the ideological presuppositions of the

text require the Soga leaders to be following the "orders" of the monarchs, we read of Kinmei, Bidatsu, and Suiko issuing commands to Iname and Umako, ordering them to support Buddhism. Then after an account of the deeds of his illustrious ancestors, Kōtoku himself sets out his own desires and policies:

> It is Our desire anew to exalt the pure doctrine and brilliantly to promulgate great principles. We therefore appoint as the "Ten Teachers" [*jisshi*] the following persons [names]. We separately appoint the *hōshi*, Emyō, chief priest of the Temple of Kudara.
>
> Let these Ten Teachers well instruct the priests in general in the practice of the teachings of Shaka. It is needful that they be made to comply with the Law. If there is a difficulty about repairing Temples built by any from the Emperor down to the Tomo no miyatsuko, We will in all cases assist in doing so. We shall also cause Temple Commissioners (*tera no tsukasa*) and Chief Priests (*tera no nushi*) to be appointed, who shall make a circuit to all the temples and having ascertained the actual facts respecting the priests and nuns, their male and female slaves, and the acreage of their cultivated lands, report all the particulars clearly to us. Accordingly Kume no omi [name missing], Miwa no Shikobu no kimi, and Nukatabe no muraji Ohi were appointed Hōju.[30]

This text can be divided into two parts, the first being the historical material, and the second being Kōtoku's order just quoted. Since the historical material is clearly based on Soga history, there would seem to be a possibility that Kōtoku's order may also have a Soga source. This, of course, is not how we are supposed to interpret the order, for it is intended to signal establishment of direct imperial control over Buddhism, which is related to the general thrust of the Taika Reform. But is that the case? Of the Ten Teachers listed, five were associated with the Sanron school, and lived at Hōkōji (= Asukadera).[31] Since this was the center of Soga-related Buddhism, we must assume that these teachers came out of that context. Moreover, the first Teacher mentioned, Shamon Koma Daihōshi, has been identified as the priest Ekan, who is recorded in an entry of the thirty-third year of Suiko in *Nihon shoki*: "The King of Koryŏ (Koguryŏ) sent tribute of a Buddhist priest named Ekan (Kor. Hyegwan). He was appointed Sōjō." His appointment as *sōjō* is related to that of Kanroku to the same position earlier, as discussed in Chapter 1. All of this evidence suggests that the Ten Teachers represented a high degree of continuity with the Soga-based control system developed in the 620s. Japanese scholars have related the Ten Teachers format to systems seen in Tang China, so it is possible that this development is related to new ideas brought back from China by returning students and priests.[32]

Important also is the statement that one of the Ten Teachers, Emyō, is

given the additional appointment of chief priest of Kudaradera.[33] This detail must be associated with our discussion of the development of Kudara Ōdera from the end of Jomei's reign through the reign of Kōgyoku. If work actually took place at this temple in the early 640s, perhaps the appointment of a chief priest would have been possible. Viewed from a more skeptical perspective, however, there is also a possibility that this statement was inserted so as to corroborate the details of the vowing and construction of the temple recorded in 639 and 642.

Order to Build a Palace and Temple at Kudara

There are two fundamental sources for our understanding of Jomei's Kudara Ōdera project, the accounts in *Nihon shoki* and in *Daianji engi*; some details are repeated in other, later texts, but these two eighth-century sources are primary. An extensive literature exists concerning the *Nihon shoki* and *Daianji engi* accounts and their relationship, but prior to plunging into that quagmire, perhaps it would be best to simply recount the narratives.[34]

Nihon shoki, in two entries for 639, provides the basic details:

> Jomei 11.7: The Emperor made a decree, saying: 'This year let there be a great palace and a great temple built.' So the bank of the Kudara River was chosen as the site for the palace. Herewith the western subjects built the palace and the eastern subjects built the temple. Fumi no atai Agata was the supervisor.[35]
>
> Jomei 11.12: In this month a pagoda of nine stories was erected on the bank of the Kudara River.[36]

Surprisingly, there is an additional account in 642:

> Kōgyoku 1.9.3: The Empress commanded the Ōomi, saying: 'It is our wish to build a great temple. Let laborers be levied from Ōmi and Koshi.' This is Kudara Ōdera.[37]

Daianji engi begins its account of the origin of Kudara Ōdera with a long narrative concerning Empress Suiko, Prince Tamura, Prince Stable Door, and a site called Kumagori Dōjō. This narrative is totally absent from *Nihon shoki* and appears to be a later legendary construction. However, subsequently *Daianji engi* generally conforms to the *Nihon shoki* account in the passage from the eleventh year of Jomei (639), although it is placed in the second rather than the seventh month.

> Jomei 11.2: Then the emperor ascended the throne. In the eleventh year of his reign, the *tsuchinoto/i* year, Spring, second month. On the bank of the Kudara River land was cleared at the Kobe shrine [Kobesha] to

> make space to build a nine-story pagoda. Three hundred households were donated. This was named Kudara Ōdera.[38]

The foundation entry is followed by a description of the destruction by fire of the pagoda, dated simply "at this time."

> At this time the God of the shrine was angry and caused a fire and burned down the nine-story pagoda and the golden hall, including its stone *shibi*.[39]

This tragedy goes unmentioned in *Nihon shoki*. We next learn in *Daianji engi* that Jomei asked his consort to build the temple he had vowed.

> When the emperor was approaching death he ordered his honored consort, saying it is my wish to built this temple, and you should do this.[40]

This detail is also missing in *Nihon shoki*, but the two texts again become essentially congruent when *Daianji engi* describes Empress Kōgyoku's efforts.

> Kōgyoku, 1. that time (642): The empress built this temple and appointed Abe no Kurahashi Maro and Hozumi no Momotari.[41]

One important difference is that *Daianji engi* includes the specific names of the two supervisors, whereas *Nihon shoki* speaks only of laborers from Ōmi and Koshi. *Nihon shoki* and *Daianji engi* both record subsequent details of the history of Kudara Ōdera, which we will examine later as appropriate.

Of course, the crucial question is why in 639 Jomei called specifically for the construction of a great palace and a great temple. The motivation for the palace component is relatively clear, since his previous palace had been destroyed by fire in 636, forcing him to live in temporary quarters for some years. An explanation of the great temple, including a nine-story pagoda, is more difficult. One factor scholars sometimes mention is the return to Yamato of Japanese students and priests during the reign of Jomei, often after they had spent decades in Chang'an, the Chinese capital. They possessed current knowledge of Buddhism and would have been aware of the symbolism of the nine-story pagoda, information they could have conveyed to Jomei. Importantly, they came home via Silla, as Paekche and Tang were not on good terms at this time. All of this suggests that the Buddhism they brought was of a Tang-Silla variety, presumably different from the Paekche tradition patronized by the Soga since the inception of the religion decades before.[42] Another factor of interest is the location chosen for the palace and temple at a site outside of Asuka, the headquarters of the Soga. In the next section I will discuss in detail the location problem, but to anticipate, it was likely at a place called Kibi Pond, some distance north of Asuka. These geographical circumstances have led some scholars to conclude that

site selection was based on an effort to distance Jomei's court from the Soga. And, of course, the new temple was conceived on a grander scale than Asukadera.

Kumagai Kimio presents an elaborate argument suggesting the construction of the large-scale temple, and particularly an enormous nine-story pagoda, was closely related to political events on the Korean peninsula as well as to internal factors of the early Yamato state. He carefully analyzes the political and military vicissitudes of Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla, and the aggressive campaigns of Tang on the peninsula in establishing a context for the early 640s; he is especially concerned with the relations between Paekche and Silla, and the conflict that they engaged in beginning 642.7. As Kumagai points out, Yamato, although not at this stage a direct participant in the military actions on the peninsula, was keenly aware of what was transpiring and would certainly have taken actions to ensure their own safety. In addition to strengthening their military forces and carrying out intensive diplomatic relations, the Yamato government probably saw construction of a great temple with a nine-story pagoda as an important ideological component of their campaign to achieve parity with the important peninsular kingdoms, if not with China.[43]

As for internal factors, Kumagai follows the standard approach that sees increasing "tyranny" on the part of the Soga from the later Jomei reign through the reign of Kōgyoku, a stance thought to be a direct threat to the Yamato state. In this regard, he believes the move away from Asuka to "Kudara" signified an effort on the part of Jomei to distance himself from the Soga. Kumagai further suggests that the idea for the monumental size of the temple was based, in part, on competition with Asukadera and the type of Buddhism that it stood for.[44] In Chapter 1, I tried to demonstrate that the usual characterization of the Soga clan results from the desire of those who formulated *Nihon shoki* to erase significant Soga achievements from the historical record, shifting credit to the winning side, the "imperial" line. Undoubtedly there was conflict between the royal and Soga lines — after all, they were competing for supremacy — but I believe it is an exaggeration to suggest that Kudara Ōdera should be seen primarily in terms of that conflict. Rather, I suggest that the construction of this temple had more to do with the efforts to strengthen the state than it did with a desire to overwhelm Soga influence. We can reasonably assume that the Soga were no more interested in being defeated by foreign powers than was the royal line. Noteworthy in this regard are the great efforts that the Yamato state exerted in the early 660s to defend Paekche from destruction; we should recall that the essential features of early Asuka government and religion were derived from Paekche, primarily through the efforts of the Soga. We will return to these issues in Chapter 3.

Historiography

Until recently, most studies of Kudara Ōdera have been essentially philological, consisting of detailed analyses of the texts of *Nihon shoki* and *Daianji engi*. I have relied primarily on the careful analysis by Tsukaguchi Yoshinobu, who juxtaposes the two texts and then categorizes the various passages as being those where the details are unique to *Daianji engi*, those where the details are unique to *Nihon shoki* and those where the details are similar in the two texts. As examples of details unique to *Daianji engi*, he refers to the Kumagori narrative, the account of the burning down of the temple, Jomei's request that his consort build the temple, and several matters from later times. Tsukaguchi concludes that these details derive either from the legends of Daianji or were formulated by the author of *Daianji engi*.[45]

Since the details unique to *Nihon shoki* all relate to 645 and following years, we will consider this material later. Tsukaguchi's assessment, however, should be summarized in order to understand his approach: he believes the materials unique to *Nihon shoki* derive from sources outside of Daianji that were presumably associated with the court, and he argues further that these details are generally reliable. Although not relevant to the present discussion, we should note that Kudara Ōdera is recorded in the texts as having moved from Kudara to Takechi in 673, where it became Takechi Ōdera, and then, in 677, that name was changed to Daikandaiji.[46]

Tsukaguchi's treatment of materials similar in both accounts is quite complex, as he subdivides this into three subcategories. Relevant here are the two 639 foundation vows, which in some places even have similar vocabulary and prose styles. Greater divergence is seen in the 642 Kōgyoku entries, since while *Nihon shoki* refers to anonymous workers from Ōmi and Koshi, *Daianji engi* provides specific names, as we noted. Consequently, although the two texts agree that work on the temple commenced (or recommenced) in 642, they differ in some details.

Comparison of the *Nihon shoki* and *Daianji engi* accounts of the origins of Kudara Ōdera shows that only *Daianji engi* has the narrative concerning Prince Tamura's visit to Shōtoku Taishi at the Akunami Ashigaki Palace.[47] This story, with its strongly mythological flavor, was deconstructed by Fukuyama Toshio as early as the 1930s, and other scholars, such as Katata Osamu and Mizuno Ryūtarō, have accepted Fukuyama's conclusions.[48] Generally speaking, almost all authorities believe that this is, in fact, a legendary account, although some interpret it more historically. In the context of the present study, its greatest significance is as a type of the stories that temple chroniclers formulated to further their agendas. Approximately 40 percent of the "Introductory section" of *Daianji engi* is concerned with the Kumagori narrative.[49]

The character and status of Kumagori Dōjō are problems of exceptional complexity and certainly cannot be dealt with here at length. Basically, the story tells of Suiko tennō sending Prince Tamura to the bedside of the dying Prince Stable Door at the Akunami Ashikaga Palace; Stable Door is concerned about his Kumagori Dōjō, and offers it to Suiko, who accepts. After Stable Door's death, Jomei, following the wishes of the late prince and Suiko, transforms the temple into a "great temple." This, of course, provides a motivation for Jomei (Prince Tamura) to build Kudara Ōdera as well as to establish a direct link between the new temple and Shōtoku. Debate has revolved around the location of Kumagori Dōjō, with the most likely candidate being Gakuanji, also called Nukatadera, the clan temple of the Nukatabe.[50]

Certain details have encouraged scholars to postulate a strong connection between Gakuanji/Nukatadera and the royal family. In particular, one of Suiko's names was Princess Nukatabe, suggesting a very specific relationship.[51] A second detail is rather tenuous, requiring somewhat more analysis. Later, in the discussion of the Kibi Pond roof tiles, we will examine the relationship between the flat eave-end tiles excavated at Kibi Pond and those of Stable Door's temple, Ikarugadera. Significantly, a tile of this category was discovered at the Gakuanji site; this fact is often taken by historians to be a clinching factor for a Gakuanji-Ikarugadera-Kibi Pond association, but what is not always fully discussed is the fact that the tile in question is but a single, tiny fragment, making it quite dangerous to draw firm conclusions from it alone.[52]

The most significant aspect of the Gakuanji/Nukatadera problem, in my view, is role of the priest Dōji (?–744); he was a member of the Nukatabe clan, had traveled to China at a high point of the Tang dynasty, and was an important prelate at Daianji, the Nara-period successor to Kudara Ōdera-Daikandaiji.[53] Scholars believe that he suggested the grand new plan for Daianji on the basis of what he had previously seen in China, and it is also likely that he had a key role in the formulation of *Daianji engi*. Consequently, we should not be surprised if he incorporated material from the traditions of his own clan temple into *Daianji engi*, especially as Stable Door was a vastly more central figure for Japanese religious and political ideology in the middle of the eighth century than was Jomei.[54]

Of the Four Great Temples only the original location of Kudara Ōdera is unclear. Given the very great significance of the temple as the first "imperial" establishment, this mystery has evoked ample speculation and writing. To a considerable degree, the historiography of Kudara Ōdera was centered on this problem of location, with largely inconclusive results until quite recently.[55]

Traditionally, the prime candidate has been the site of present-day Kudaradera in Kōryōchō, somewhat to the northwest of the main Asuka-

Fujiwara district (fig. 2.1).[56] The fact that a temple called Kudaradera is located there would seem important; also, in the general area there is a shrine called Kobejinja and, furthermore, the Soga River flows nearby. Kobejinja has been related to Kobesha, recorded in *Daianji engi*, and it has been suggested that the Soga River may be associated with the Kudara River. There are, however, a number of objections to this hypothesis. Ōmi summarizes these objections as follows: *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* states that Kudara Ōdera was in Tōchigun, whereas the Kōryōchō Kudaradera is in Hirosegun; this area is far from where the various Asuka palaces were located; and no Asuka-period tiles or other remains have been found in the vicinity.[57]

With regard to *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, the various ancient geographical designations have been quite well preserved over the centuries, so the fact that totally different counties are recorded is troubling. The problem of Asuka palaces is complex, but putting aside the specific terminology of palaces, it is clear that Hirosegun is distant from the center of Asuka politics. The fact that no Asuka-period tiles or other remains have been found would appear on the surface to be especially damning, as tiles are normally very well preserved at their original site. However, as we will see later, Kudara Ōdera was said to have been transferred to Takechi in 673. If the tiles were taken to the new location presumably very few remains would be found at the original site.

Important research has been done by the historian Wada Atsumu on the problem of the location of Kudara Ōdera.[58] He examines three important pieces of evidence: a place called Kudara no hara (Kudara plain), the Kudara no ie (Kudara house), and the geographical subdivisions (*koaza*) west Kudara, Kudara, and east Kudara.

"The Kudara plain" occurs in an elegy for Prince Takechi (654–696), written by Hitomaro, where the prince's coffin is described as being carried from the Kaguyama Palace through the Kudara plain to his *mogari no miya* located at Ki no ue Palace.[59] Although traditionally Ki no ue Palace was thought to have been in Kita Katsuragi, Kōryōchō, Wada presents strong evidence indicating that it was in fact in the area of Iware, not very far to the east from the north slopes of Kaguyama. This would imply a rather short trip in contrast to the much greater distance from the Kaguyama Palace to Kōryōchō and would also avoid the necessity of a detour around the Fujiwara Palace.

The Kudara no ie is associated with Ōtomo no Fukei, a major supporter of Prince Ōama during the Jinshin Disturbance.[60] Since the Ōtomo clan's home base was in the vicinity of Kaguyama, it follows that the Kudara House would also be there.

To the east of the Fujiwara Palace there are small geographical subsections referred to as east Kudara, Kudara, and west Kudara; in addition,

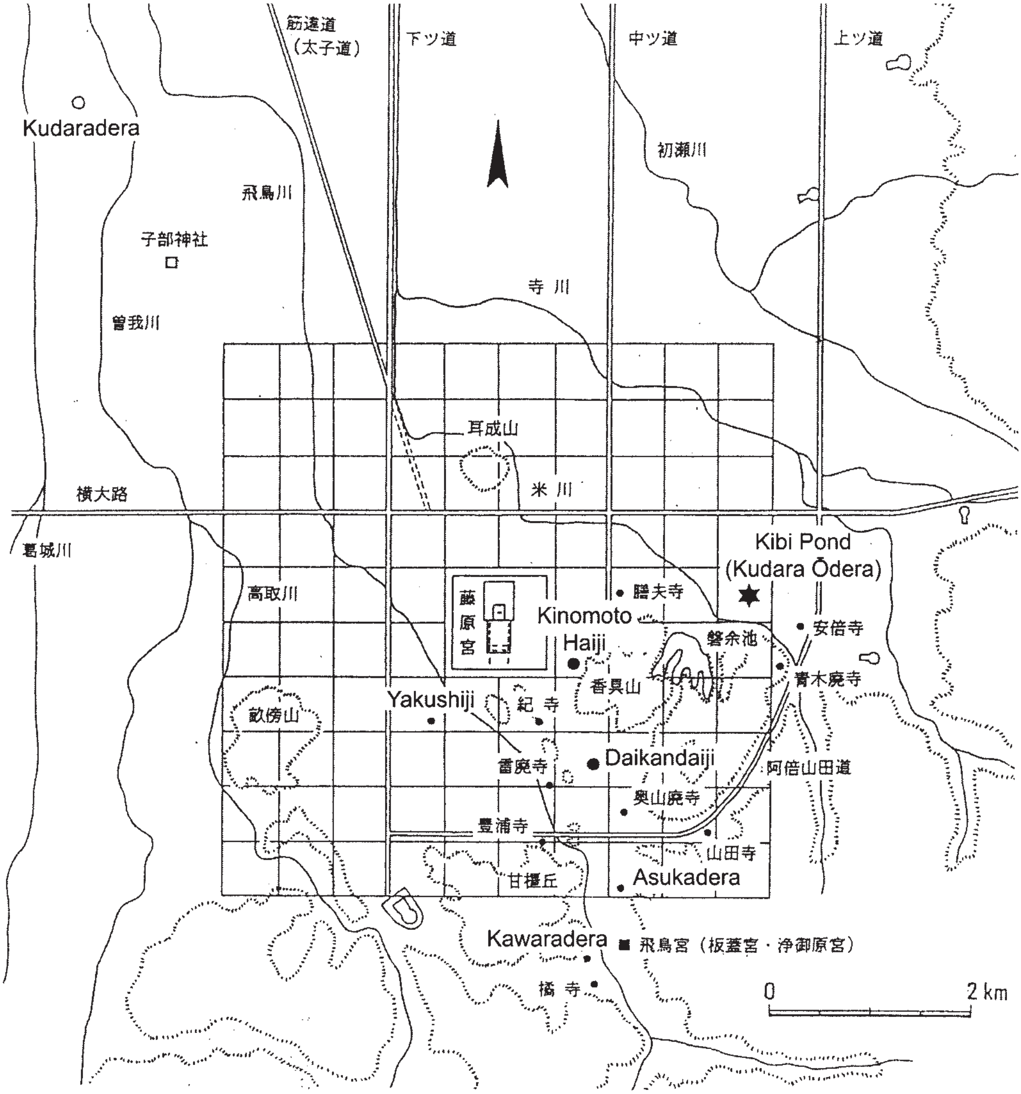


Fig. 2.1. Location of Kibi Pond and related sites

there was a Kudara River. Not surprisingly, Wada surmised that this area, and the nearby Kudara plain and the Kudara House, would be plausible as a location of the Kudara Great Palace and Kudara Ōdera. More recent research, however, indicates that the Kudara area delineated by Wada was actually broader than he thought, extending from the "west Kudara" subsection east of the Fujiwara Palace, past Kaguyama, and as far as Iware; consequently, as we will see presently, there are good reasons to doubt the location of the Kudara Palace and Kudara Ōdera on the northwest slopes of Kaguyama. Nevertheless, Wada's research has the very great merit of directing attention away from distant Kōryōchō.[61]

The continuing impact of Wada's research has focused scholars on the area around Uneotsutamoto jinja in a subsection called Kinomoto, just west of Kaguyama, within present-day Kashihara City. Old tiles have been found here since the 1930s, and preliminary study indicated that the round eave-end tiles quite closely resembled the Yamadadera type of the early 640s, while the flat eave-end tiles were connected with those of Ikarugadera. Yamazaki Shinji noted that the proposed date of the round eave-end tiles was consistent with the date of Jomei's vowing of Kudara Ōdera (639) and suggested that the temple was located here.[62] This came to be known in the literature as Kinomoto haiji.

Between 1985 and 1987, prior to construction of the Nabunken Asuka-Fujiwara research facility, there was extensive excavation in the Kinomoto area, and many more tiles of the same types were discovered. Ōwaki Kiyoshi, who carried out a detailed analysis of the tiles, concluded that the round eave-end tiles predated the Yamadadera tiles by a couple of years. (Our detailed examination of this will appear in the "Tiles" section below.) Combining the several strands of evidence, many scholars concluded that Kinomoto haiji was Kudara Ōdera. Certainly, the general area of Kinomoto would be appropriate for constructing a great palace and a great temple. The problem, of course, is that traces of neither palace nor temple have been located, although possibly the foundations are now covered by structures. Given the nature of the tiles found here, two possibilities suggest themselves: Kinomoto haiji is the original site of Kudara Ōdera, or it is the site of Takechi Ōdera.[63] Certainly until the excavations at Kibi Pond began in 1997, Kinomoto haiji appeared to be the most likely location for Kudara Ōdera. Later we will examine in detail the evidence for the Kibi Pond site as Kudara Ōdera, but for the present, we need to evaluate further the textual sources concerning the vowing and construction of Kudara Ōdera.

Nihon shoki and *Daianji engi* agree that Jomei vowed the temple in 639, differing only in the month; consequently reliance on this year for the inception is plausible. Problems immediately arise, however, when the status of the nine-story pagoda is considered.[64] In terms of our general conception of Asuka-period architecture, a nine-story building seems extraordinarily large; in fact, it would be an exceptional structure at any time. Given this situation, cautious scholars have doubted the very existence of a nine-story pagoda at such an early date.[65] For a long time I thought it was probably a later insertion into the two texts designed to aggrandize Japan's "first imperial temple" by claiming similar scale and monumentality as seen in the greatest temples in China and Korea, but now the evidence requires a reconsideration of the situation.

Many of those who accepted the possibility of a nine-story pagoda doubted the historicity of the fire said to have destroyed the temple shortly

after it was built. As we will discuss later, the early eighth-century Daikan-daiji commissioned by Monmu is recorded as having burned down in 711, prior to its completion, and there is a distinct possibility that the Kudara Ōdera fire recorded in *Daianji engi* is, in fact, the later, 711 fire.[66]

We must assume that the temple referred to in the 639 entries was intended to be a full-scale temple including all (or most) of the structures discussed in Chapter 1. This would certainly yield a very large-scale plan if the nine-story pagoda is included as a component and would require a substantial investment of resources and time. The erection of such a pagoda would also have involved exceedingly complex building techniques so we can reasonably ask if such skills and knowledge were available in late Asuka-period Japan. As we will discuss later, presumably a master carpenter/architect could have traveled from China or, more likely, Korea to serve as the supervisor, but there would still be the need to gather and train the appropriate craftsmen; such workers could perhaps have already worked on more modest pagodas, thus providing them with basic skills. As these sentences suggest, the very scale and complexity of a nine-story pagoda — at least as normally imagined — constitute a grave difficulty in any assessment of the 639 donation and construction entries.

Despite the complexities and uncertainties of attempting to establish a building sequence and chronology, I will plunge into a speculative reconstruction with the hope that it will shed some light on the problems. First, however, a confession: because my direct experience of the excavations inevitably affected my personal viewpoint, the fact that the golden hall was investigated first (1997) and the pagoda second (1998) somehow led me to assume that this order corresponded to the historical sequence of construction even though the documentary sources assert that work began with the pagoda.

We considered the textual references to Jomei's 639 vow, but now it is essential to examine the relevant issues more closely. Perhaps all there was in 639 was a vow, with no immediate work on either palace or temple; however, there is a strong likelihood that construction of the palace commenced shortly after the vow, given that Jomei was said to have moved there in 640. Construction techniques for a palace were relatively straightforward, and there would have been numerous craftsmen with the appropriate experience and knowledge.[67] The temple is an entirely different matter, involving as it did, far more complex technical matters. Possibly some preliminary activity began under Jomei, although even if it did, not much could have been accomplished prior to his death. (Could work, if started, have been interrupted when Jomei's died?) The *Nihon shoki* account that construction began in 639.7, with the nine-story pagoda built in 639.12, is clearly impossible, although some scholars have suggested that the word here rendered as "built" (*ken*) may actually signify "begun." In this connection, who was

the master craftsman (*daishō*), Fumi no atai Agata, and what was his role? One possibility is that he was a traditional architect-carpenter responsible for building the palace.

Scholars have long been puzzled by the 642 entries in *Nihon shoki* and *Daianji engi* that seem to repeat to some extent those of 639. Again, there is more than one possibility: perhaps in 642 progress was continuing on the temple under Kōgyoku, or perhaps this was the actual beginning of building activity, including matters such as ground preparation, lumbering and lumber drying, and tile-making. Kumagai has emphasized the term "office to build the temple" (造此寺司) that appears in *Daianji engi* and suggests that this may constitute the establishment of a full-scale construction crew supervised by Abe no Kurahashi Maro and Hozumi no Momotari.[68] If this is the case, as seems likely, a plausible assumption is that several more years would have been required to finish an elaborate and unprecedented structure such as a nine-story pagoda.

Kumagai also proposes a radically new chronology, suggesting that the pagoda was complete at about the time of the Taika Reform (645), with the golden hall finished very shortly thereafter; explicit in this scenario is Kumagai's assumption that construction proceeded more or less simultaneously on pagoda and golden hall.[69] He further suggests that the lecture hall would have been ready by 650. As will be recalled from the discussion of Asukadera, the normal building sequence involved several years for each structure, with work on only one at a time.[70] Consequently, the greater likelihood is that while the pagoda possibly was finished by 645, construction on the golden hall may not have begun before that year and probably was not finished until around 650, with the other structures completed in the next decade or so.

In the earlier analysis of the documentary sources for Kudara Ōdera, we did not consider those entries after 642, so we must now return to them. *Nihon shoki*, in the long entry of 645 quoted, states that a messenger was sent to the "great temple" to speak to the assembled priests and nuns about the history of Buddhism in Japan and the policies which were now to be adopted. Unfortunately, the identity of this "great temple" is not specified, and it could be either Asukadera or Kudara Ōdera, although reference to Asukadera seems more likely in that work on Kudara Ōdera must still have been at a preliminary stage in 645. At the end of the same passage, after listing ten priestly appointments, we are told that an individual named Emyō was appointed as "chief priest" of Kudaradera.[71]

There is a long gap in the historical record and then, in the 673 entries, both *Nihon shoki* and *Daianji engi* assert that Kudara Ōdera was moved to Takechi and renamed Takechi Ōdera. We will consider these data at length when we discuss the Takechi Ōdera problem, but for the moment it is enough to say that *something* was moved in 673. Again, unless we are

to imagine a very complex conspiracy, the evidence from 639 to 673 does suggest that there really was a Kudara Ōdera of some type.

The Kibi Pond Site (Kibi ike haiji)

Prior to 1997 excavations

Kibi Pond is located in present-day Sakurai City, somewhat to the northeast of the central Asuka area (figs. 2.1, 2.2, 2.3). The site is east of Kaguyama and is bounded at north and south by the Tera and Yone rivers, respectively. The pond itself is an Edo-period agricultural reservoir and has no ancient significance; directly to the north, on a low hill, is an old shrine. Rapid development in the 1980s and 1990s necessitated archaeological surveys, and a rather substantial amount of excavation was carried out on the peripheries of Kibi Pond by various agencies between 1984 and 1997,[72] prior to the joint campaigns of Nabunken and Sakurai City at the pond proper (1997–2001). Since these earlier excavations were all in response to building activities, they are clearly examples of salvage archaeology. Most were to the south of the pond, but digs occurred to the west, east, and north as well, and tiles of what came to be called the Kibi Pond type were found in those three directions: a flat eave-end to the west and round eave-end tiles to the north and east. The full significance of these roof tiles was not understood when they were excavated, although their presence clearly indicated some type of Asuka-period site. Other findings that subsequently turned out to have relationship with the Kibi Pond site will be considered later. Two hypotheses were offered to explain the significance of these tiles. The first was that it was the site of Kibidera, a clan temple of the important Kibi clan. Some scholars have speculated that the temple was related to an adjacent site, Ōomi Yabu, also thought to be connected to the Kibi clan. This possibility is not generally accepted today, as there is no convincing evidence that proves it.[73] The second hypothesis was that it was a kiln site.

Of course, even if the area around Kibi Pond was not a temple, the tiles found there had to be explained. One leading specialist dealing with this area, Ōwaki Kiyoshi, connected the tile fragments found at Kibi Pond with those found at the site conventionally designated as Kinomoto haiji, but concluded that Kibi Pond was a kiln site for the temple called Kinomoto haiji. Kinomoto haiji would then become a plausible site for Kudara Ōdera.[74]

Recent Excavations

I intend to describe the results achieved at Kibi Pond in greater detail than for the other three temples for several reasons. Asukadera was originally investigated nearly half a century ago and Kawaradera only slightly more





Fig. 2.2. (Above) Kibi Pond, distant view

Fig. 2.3. (Left) Kibi Pond, air view

recently, so although these were sophisticated excavations for their time, there have been major advances in archaeological technique that can be seen in the Kibi Pond excavations.[75] Yakushiji, on the other hand, has been somewhat less extensively dug than the others, primarily because of its nearly exact correspondence to Heijōkyō Yakushiji. And finally, I was able to see the results of campaigns two to five at Kibi Pond and thus feel comfortable in offering a detailed discussion. Moreover, information about the other three temples has been generally available for a number of years whereas comparable data about Kibi Pond have only recently appeared. In discussing Asukadera, Kawaradera, and Yakushiji, I survey the individual structures building by building without regard to when they were excavated. Here, however, I will follow the order of the five campaigns, 1997 to 2001, in the hope that this will give some sense of the realities of a large-scale project. And, in any event, the sequence is quite similar, going from golden hall to pagoda and then to other less important structures.

1997 CAMPAIGN

Archaeological work began at the site in January 1997 because of plans to continue the project of reinforcing the walls of the pond at the southeast corner, the only section not previously reinforced (figs. 2.4, 2.5).[76] As can be seen in the plan, the pond is generally regular in shape, with the exception of two mounds to the southeast and southwest, and the extension of the pond proper to the south between these mounds. The site was surveyed in the late Fall of 1996, at which time the goals of the campaign were established. In early January, prior to actual excavation, the southeast mound was investigated by radar, which indicated that this was not a kiln site but the foundation platform of a temple. Excavation was somewhat hindered by the fact that this part of the site, as with most other parts, is actively cultivated, and the archaeologists must exercise caution in order to avoid unnecessary destruction.[77] By March of 1997 the basic work had been completed and a public announcement made of the results (fig. 2.6). While archaeologists are cautious with regard to agriculture, in recent years they seem to have been less cautious in speculating about the results of their fieldwork. The announcements concerning the first campaign created a sensation in the media, for it was immediately claimed that they had, in fact, found the site of Kudara Ōdera. Needless to say, I was very interested in these accounts because of my previous research on the Kudara Ōdera problem.[78]

The excavations revealed construction of foundations in a technique utilized in high-class structures during the seventh century called *horikomi jigyō*.[79] Since this technique was very carefully investigated at the Kibi Pond site, a detailed discussion is in order. First a large pit, corresponding to the proposed dimensions of the foundations, was dug into the ground to a

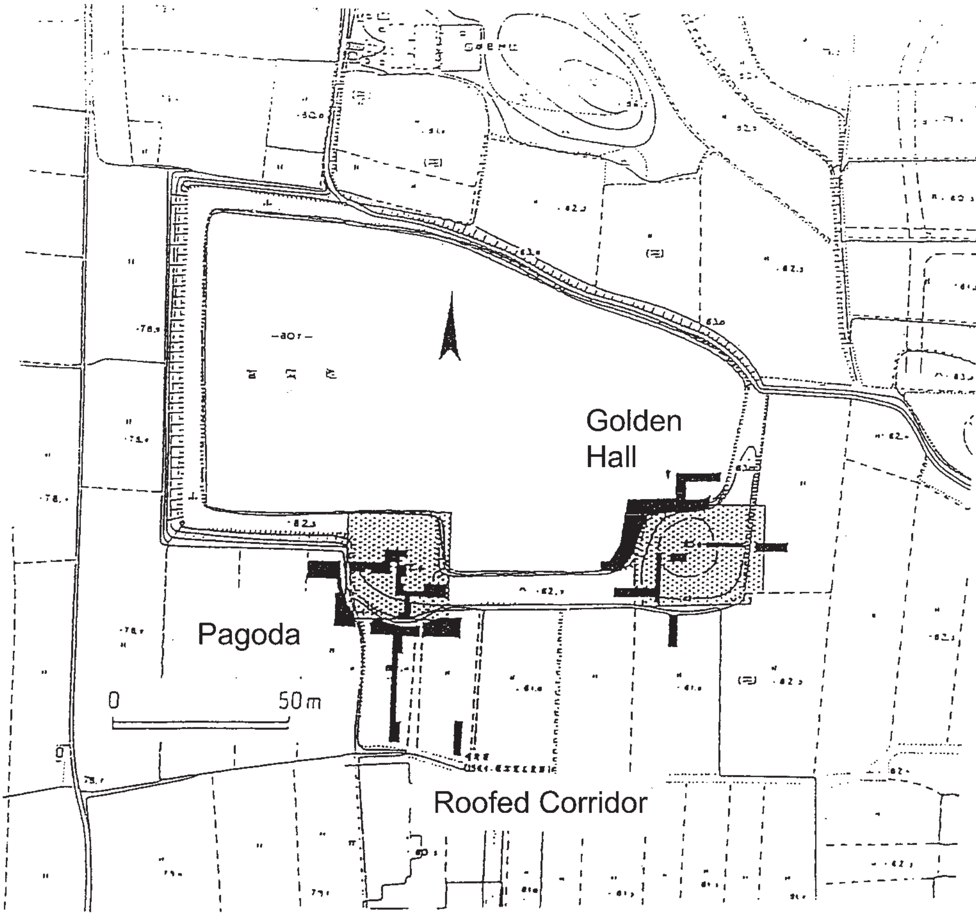


Fig. 2.4. First season (1997) excavation, site of golden hall, and second season (1998), site of pagoda and roofed corridor

depth of about 1 m, and then the bottom of the pit was covered with stones of various sizes. Next, the pit was filled with granular soil by compacting the earth (*hanchiku*) in thin lifts.[80] In order to prevent water accumulation in the *horikomi jigyō* area, a drainage ditch was placed at the northwest corner (the lowest area) to carry off the water.[81] There were some places where the pounded earth extended out beyond the rectangle of the *horikomi jigyō*, indicating that the platform was slightly larger than that *horikomi jigyō* section. Excavations at the southwest corner revealed a small notch cut 2.6 m into the rectangle of the platform, and the archaeologists postulated a similar notch at the southeast corner; the purpose of these notches is uncertain.[82] At present the mound rises between 2.5–2.7 m from the base of the *horikomi jigyō,* although the original height must have been at least 3 m, indicating that the platform rose at least 2 m above ground level, a very high platform, indeed.

No traces of the siding of the platform (*kidan keshō*) were found, leading



Fig. 2.5. First season (1997) excavation, view of pond walls

to the obvious conclusion that all of the siding had been moved elsewhere. There was, however, a deep ditch on the north and west sides of the platform that was filled with a large quantity of stones. Since Edo-period pottery fragments were also present, the archaeologists suggest that this ditch was dug in order to dispose of stones that were a hindrance to agriculture; they believe the ditch precedes the pond. In explaining this accumulation, they also suggest that the stones were originally part of the platform, including the surrounding rainwater gutter, the "dog walk" (*inubashiri*),[83] the base support of the column foundation stones, and so forth. While the carefully crafted siding and foundation stones would have been transferred, presumably these common natural stones were not thought to be worth moving.[84]

Interpretation of the missing siding is somewhat of a mystery, although little was said about the matter in the initial reports. When the final report was issued, however, the archaeologists put forth a remarkable hypothesis, suggesting that the platform siding was not of stone, but wood.[85] Their arguments are complicated, but the highlights of the theory are these. One basic point is that not only were no finished tuff slabs found, but there were also no traces of small fragments or tuff-dust that would probably result from this type of construction, and the authors of the report thought this implausible. That being the case, they examined the possibility that the temple platform siding had been constructed of wood, a rather unusual technique, although various examples can be cited, mostly from relatively remote locations. The examples adduced range over several centuries, extending through the Nara and Heian periods into the Kamakura period.[86]

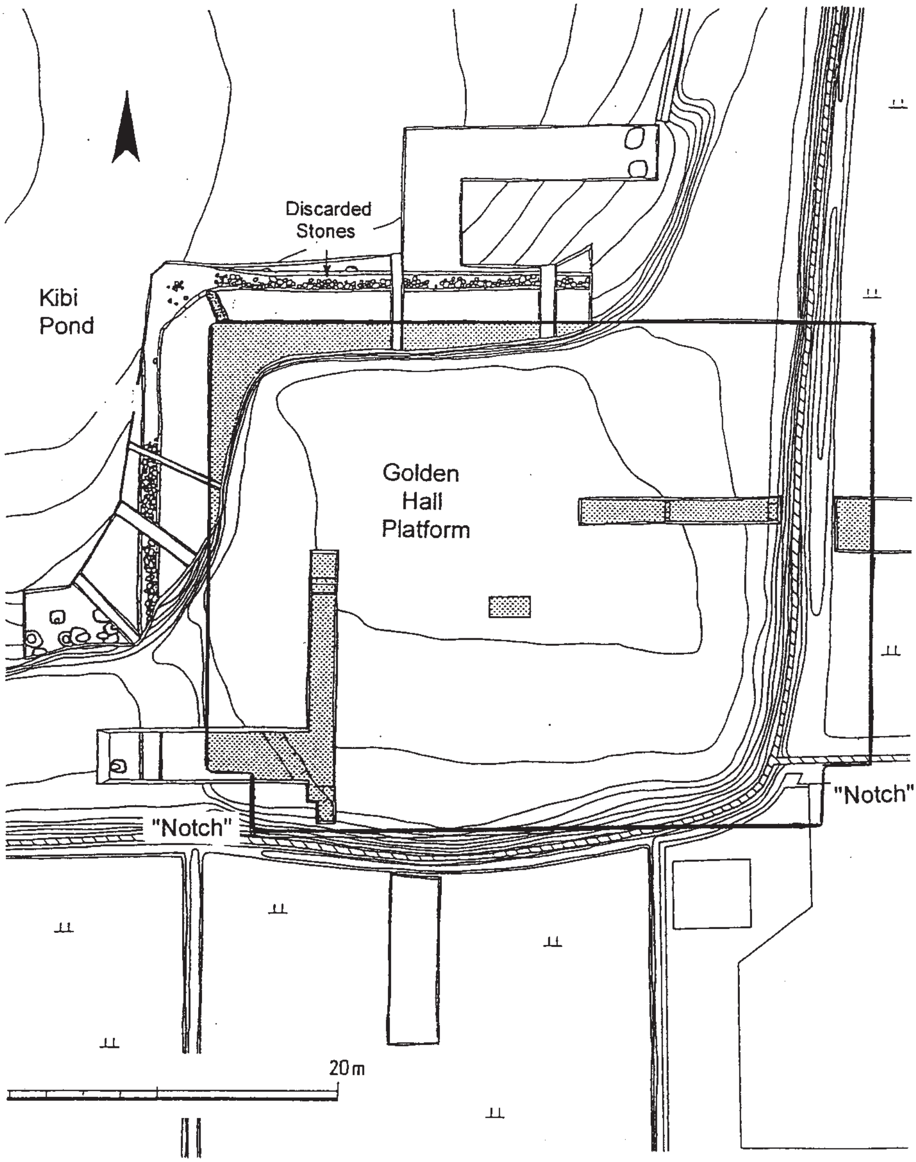


Fig. 2.6. First season (1997) excavation, plan of golden hall

Perhaps anticipating doubts about this hypothesis, especially given the fact that there is a fundamental assumption that the Kibi Pond temple was built on a grand scale, the authors of the report assert that rather than being an inexpensive substitute for stone, wood was, in fact, extremely costly; to be more precise, the expense was not so much the cost of the logs per se but rather the effort involved in making planks of the appropriate dimensions. They particularly point out that a saw able to cut a log lengthwise did not exist in seventh-century Japan, thereby making it very diffi-

cult and time-consuming to produce the boards. The argument is further buttressed through mention of the Asuka Itabuki Palace (Asuka Itabuki miya), since that palace was roofed with wooden planks (*itabuki*), rather than the traditional thatch (*kusabuki*). This palace was constructed during the Kōgyoku reign, presumably about the same time work commenced on the Kibi Pond temple, so it is a logical assumption that because the temple was a royal commission, the wood-plank format might have been used for both commissions.[87]

How should we evaluate this hypothesis? This is an extremely difficult problem, perhaps not solvable without further excavation of the site, but I must say I have some reservations, primarily because no high-class temple of the seventh century can be shown to have had wood siding for the platform. While the parallel with palace architecture is suggestive, we must always keep in mind that, prior to the construction of Fujiwarakyō, palaces were not intended for long-term occupation; rather, with the death of a monarch the successor erected a new palace. In contrast, temples were meant for long-term usage, and a stone facing would seem to be much more durable than wood. Furthermore, is it really more time-consuming to make a plank than to finish a piece of stone, even tuff? Clearly this problem will have to remain open for the present; perhaps excavations of the golden hall mound will provide the needed evidence.

A glance at the plan of the 1997 campaign reveals that the largest amount of excavation was at the west and north sides, since this zone was threatened by the continuation of the construction of the wall (fig. 2.6). In addition small trenches were dug at the south and east sides in order to determine the dimensions of the platform. The east-west axis measured 37 m, but it was harder to determine the north-south length, because of the notch cut in at the southwest corner. If this area is excluded, the distance would be about 25 m. With the notch, the length is approximately 28 m.[88] Significantly, very little work was carried out in the main section of the mound. The small trench at the center of the mound was made to determine the character of the *horikomi jigyō*.[89] Apparently the decision not to dig extensively in the mound proper was motivated by the desire to preserve remains in that area, but as a result it has not yet been possible to determine the location of the column base stones on the basis of indications in the soil as to where they were placed and how they were removed.[90] Perhaps this will be done in the future. Cavities for columns placed directly in the earth (*hottate bashira ana*) were located to the west and northeast of the mound; these seem to have been made in three periods and appear to have been associated with the construction process.[91]

At the east side of the platform small stones, 3–5 cm in diameter, were found that must have been part of the gravel paving surrounding the struc-

ture. After the hall was deconstructed, this area was covered with a layer of ash-colored clay; by combining the clay with the gravel it was determined that the ground level of the temple here was 80.8–80.9 m above sea level.[92] (Further excavations of the northeast corner of the mound, done in 2000, will be described later.)

In laying out a temple and building the various structures, two measurement scales were employed: for the overall plan, the Komajaku or long *shaku*, equivalent to 35.5 cm; and for the buildings proper, the small *shaku* of 30 cm.[93] Hakozaki suggests that the platform of the golden hall was 124 × 84 *shaku* (37 m × 25 m); significantly, these dimensions exclude the section that projects out to the south at the front of the building. Seventh- and eighth-century halls normally were placed between 12 and 17 *shaku* (3.6 m to 5.1 m) from the edge of the platform, so given the enormous scale of the hall, the larger dimension seems appropriate. That being the case, the first floor would be 90 × 50 *shaku*, although it could have been larger if the distance to the edge of the platform was less. Hakozaki has proposed three reconstructions of the golden hall, two including a *mokoshi*, at nine bays by four bays, and one without a *mokoshi*, at seven bays by four bays. The latter seems more appropriate since it would yield a 14-*shaku* distance between columns at the front and back, and a system of 14–15–15–15–14 at the sides.[94]

To accommodate these proportions, the eaves would have to project out more than 17 *shaku* in order to allow rainwater to fall to the gutter; such a large expanse implies an elaborate bracketing system to support the eaves. The 2.6 m section that projects out to the south from the notches is puzzling. If all of it was part of the platform, it would seem as if very long eaves would be necessary to reach the rainwater gutter; obviously, no conclusions can be drawn without further excavation, but I wonder if rather than being a solid rectangle, perhaps there were stairs here.

While I was unable to see the 1997 excavations, I did visit during that summer in order to get a general sense of the locale, and at that time I received a detailed explanation of the campaign as well as extensive research materials. The archaeologists had quickly realized that they were dealing with the remains of a large hall, probably a golden hall. As the comparisons with other seventh-century golden halls indicate, at 37 m × 25 m and about 1,000 m sq, this was the largest hall of the period yet discovered (fig. 2.7). In addition, very few tiles were found, an extremely unusual situation for a temple site, but one that is thought to result from transfer of the temple in 673. The sheer size of the platform and the lack of foundation stones and roof tiles explains, of course, why the Kudara Ōdera hypothesis was put forth so quickly.

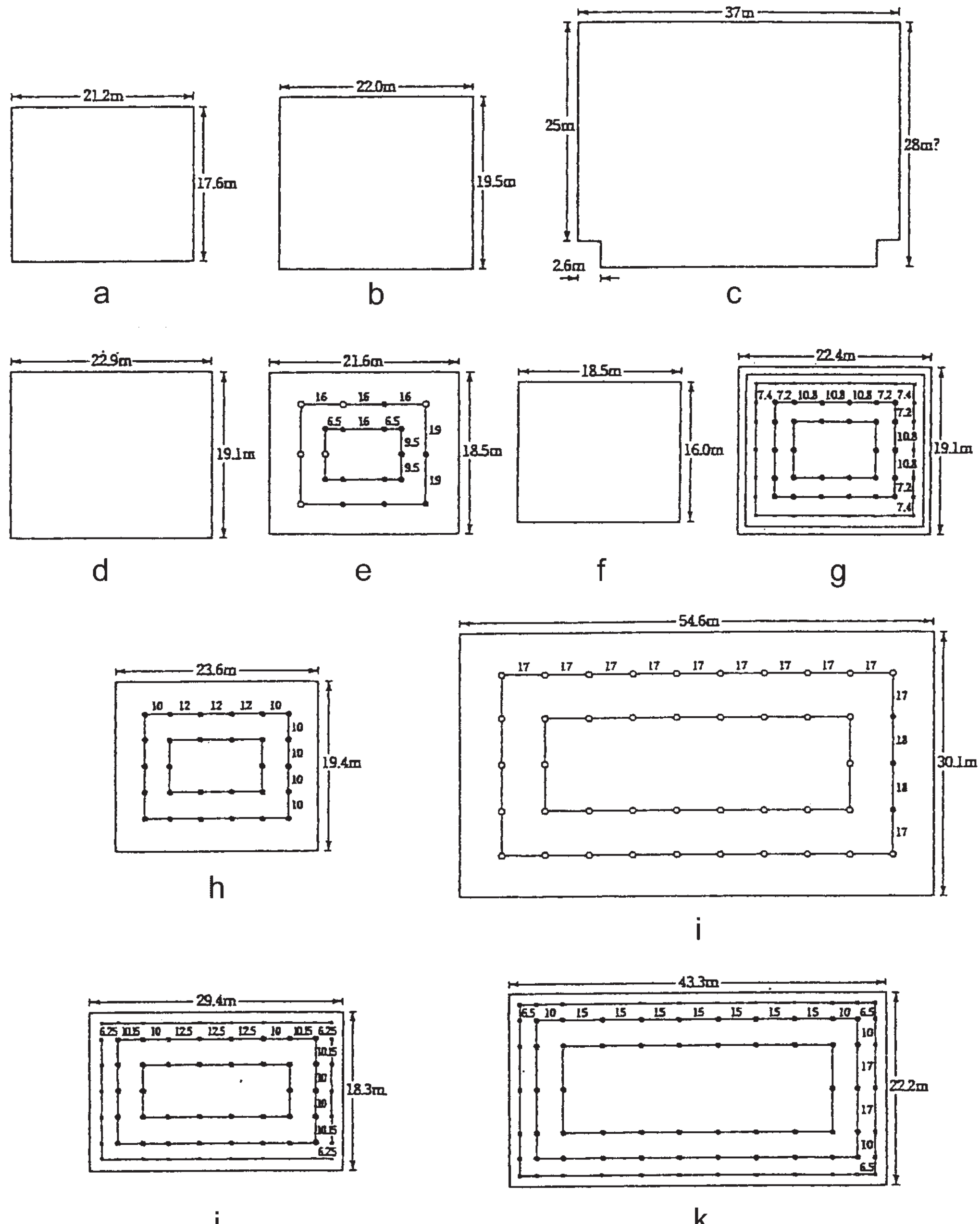


Fig. 2.7. Comparative plans of early golden halls: a. Asukadera, middle golden hall, b. Ikarugadera, c. Kudara Ōdera, d. Okuyama haiji, e. Yamadadera, f. Koyama haiji, g. Hōryūji, h. Kawaradera, middle golden hall, i. Monmu Daikandaiji, j. Heijō Yakushiji, k. Heijō Yakushiji lecture hall

1998 CAMPAIGN

The 1998 campaign also commenced near the beginning of January and continued through March.[95] Because of the remarkable results in the previous campaign, with the discovery of what appeared to be the golden hall, the archaeologists were eagerly anticipating excavation of the west mound, as they suspected that it might be the foundations of the pagoda. The north side of the mound had previously been disturbed by the protective wall for the pond, so that damage was likely in that area, but it was still apparent that the mound was basically square, the normal shape for the platform of a pagoda.

Several trenches were dug in the mound proper, with only a very limited area excavated in order to save the fruit trees, as well as to leave material for later study (fig. 2.8). Of course, the main goal in excavating this area was to find the location of the heart stone of the pagoda. On the basis of the types of soil and the presence of small stones, the archaeologists were able to identify the cavity from which the heart stone had been pulled.[96] This cavity was 6.7 m × 5.4 m, suggesting that the stone itself was enormous. As a comparison, the cavity at Monmu Daikandaiji was 5.6 m × 5.4 m, and a Meiji-period drawing shows the heart stone as 3.6 m north-south and 3 m east-west. The extant heart stone at Niji haiji, Kashiba City (can also be read "Amadera haiji,") is 3.8 m sq, that at Kumedera is 4.1 m × 2.9 m, while that of the Tōdaiji east pagoda has a length of approximately 3.8 m. The heart stone of the Kibi Pond pagoda must have been of comparable dimensions.[97]

At present the heart stone cavity extends into the mound to a depth of 40–50 cm, but because a substantial part of the top has been sheared off, the cavity originally would probably have been about 1 m deep in order to accommodate the huge stone. It is not certain if the heart stone was flush with the top of the platform or slightly below the surface. Considerable surprise greeted the discovery that the heart stone had stood at the top of the platform, as the archaeologists expected to find the heart stone placed deep within the platform, as seen at Asukadera, rather than at the summit, generally a later configuration.[98] Also quite surprising was the lack of a *horikomi jigyō* subfoundation of the type present at the golden hall. Instead, at the ancient surface level, soil preparation was carried out, ranging between 20 and 40 cm, depending on the lay of the land.[99] The reason for these different arrangements is unknown; certainly it is reasonable to think that the very solid *horikomi jigyō* would be appropriate for the very large structure that has been postulated.[100] In any event, above this quite narrow soil preparation, layers of *hanchiku* were built up. Currently the mound is 2.3 m high, although originally it apparently had a height of about 2.8 m; the platform was approximately 32 m sq.[101]

When the initial report of the excavation was published in 1999, a rather odd reconstruction of the platform was offered, with an outer row of col-

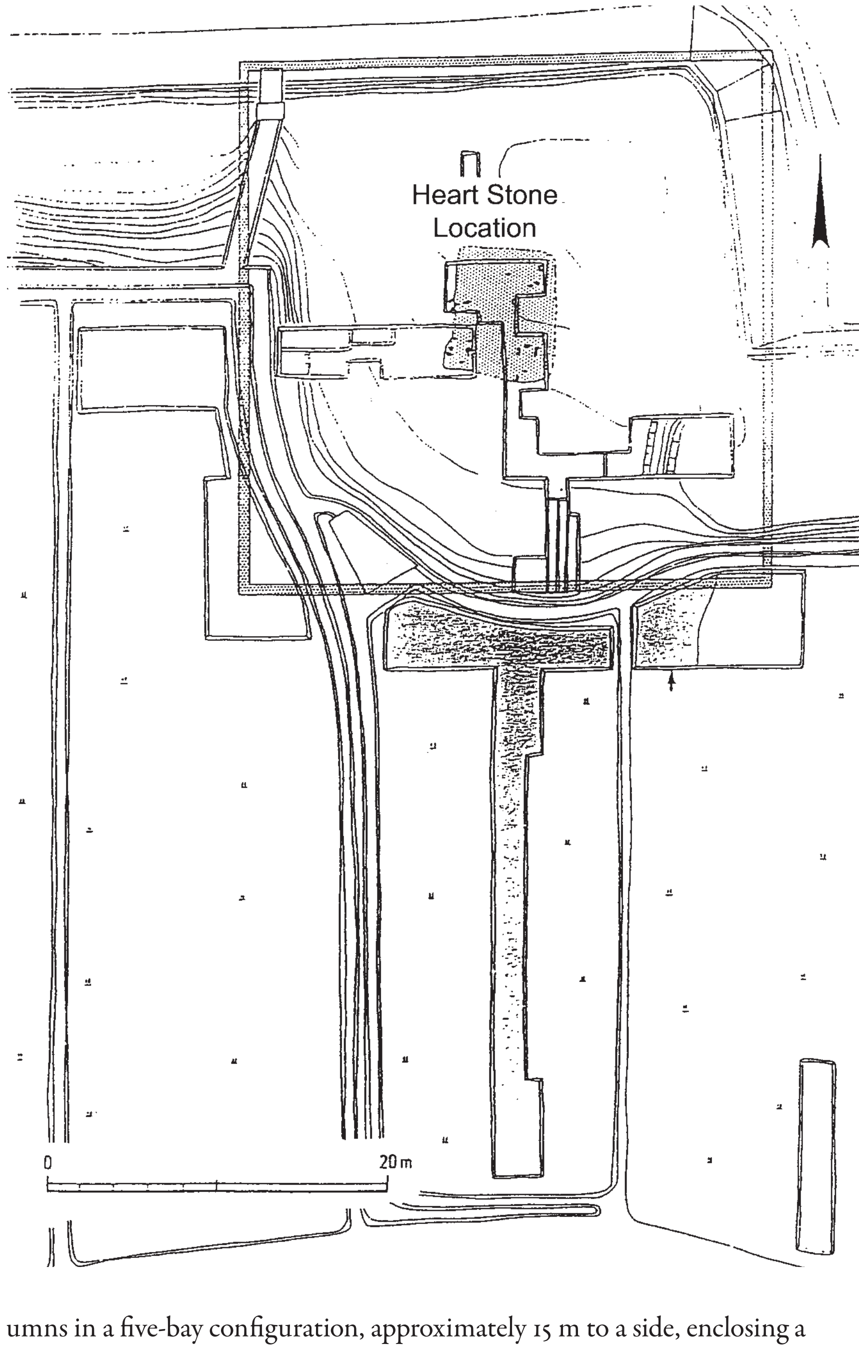


Fig. 2.8. Second season (1998), plan of excavations of pagoda and roofed corridor

umns in a five-bay configuration, approximately 15 m to a side, enclosing a smaller three-bay group inside. This arrangement would result in a veranda of at least 7.5 m on each side, which certainly seems excessive, especially when we consider that the eaves would have had to extend out far more than is practical if the rainwater was to fall into the gutters surrounding

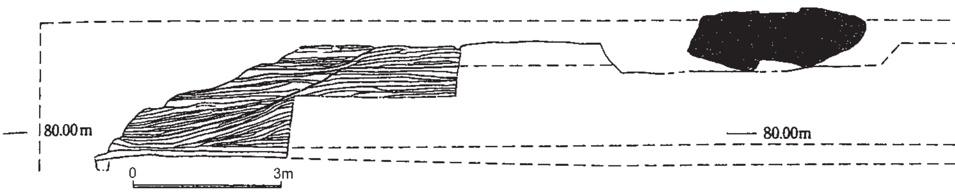




Fig. 2.9. Second season (1998), excavation of ramp section of pagoda

the platform.[102] At 32 m sq, the pagoda platform would be approximately 107 × 107 *shaku*, so by calculating in the same manner as with the golden hall, the actual wood structure would be set 12 to 17 *shaku* from the edge of the platform. A comparable pagoda, such as that of Hwangnyongsa (Silla), had seven bays to a side, each bay of equal width (10.5 *shaku*). If the distance between building and platform edge at the Kibi Pond pagoda is assumed to be about 15 *shaku*, that would yield a length of 77 *shaku* per side, allowing bays of 11 *shaku* each. Inner columniation would be in the sequence five, three, and one bay, all 11 *shaku* wide.[103] This dense arrangement of columns would be necessary to support such a very tall structure.

Perhaps the most interesting discovery had to do with the method by which this enormous heart stone was placed at the top of the platform (fig. 2.9). An east-west trench dug in the center of the west side of the mound revealed in cross-section the presence of a slope that led from ground level to the summit of the platform, up which the great stone must have been pulled.[104] Extremely complex and detailed investigation showed that there were several blocks of *hanchiku* that had been built up, first at the stage of the pulling, with the *hanchiku* at an oblique level, and then subsequent stages when the platform was completed after the stone was in place. Another example of this type of *hanchiku* slope was recently discovered in the

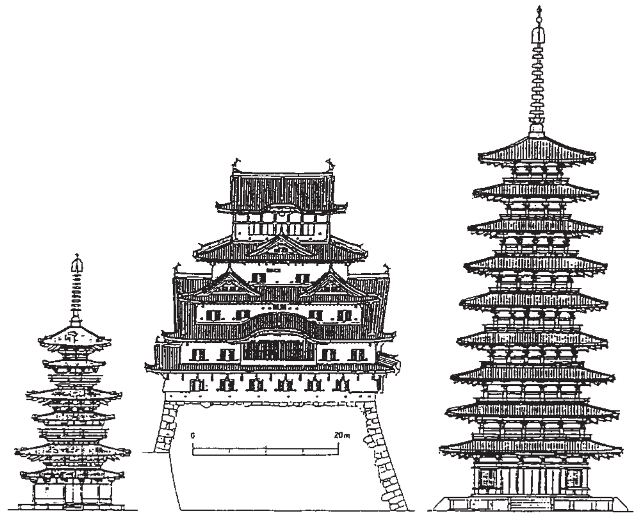


Fig. 2.10. Comparison with other structures: left, Yakushiji; center, Himeji Castle; right, reconstruction of Kibi Pond pagoda

pagoda platform of Niji haiji, the temple at which the enormous heart stone cited above was discovered.[105]

Some indications were found for a stairway on the south side of the platform, but the situation is not entirely clear.[106] As was the case with the golden hall platform, absolutely no traces of the column stones or siding were discovered, suggesting to the excavators, once again, that these elements were all moved to a new site. They also suggested that the siding may have been of wood, on the same grounds as was argued for the golden hall.[107] A Sue ware lid and jar of a type dated by the archaeologists to the second half of the seventh century were excavated from the heart stone cavity (SX 151). Chronologically, this is consistent with the 673 transfer of the temple to Takechi recorded in the documents.[108]

Naturally, the analysis of the scale of the platform and the size of the heart stone suggests quite strongly that this was indeed a pagoda very much taller than the norm (fig. 2.10). At 32 m sq, the platform would have an area of more than 1,000 m sq, many times larger than the pagoda at Yamadadera, which was built at about the same time, or of those at Asukadera, Kawaradera, and Yakushiji, all of which were three or five stories. Clearly, a pagoda the size of those would seem very peculiar perched atop this overscale platform, so the excavators now tend to accept the *Nihon shoki* and *Daianji engi* accounts of a nine-story pagoda. They further note instances of such monumental pagodas in China and Korea directly associated with the monarchy, including Northern Wei and Sui examples as well as others from Paekche and Silla, and propose that such structures were viewed as symbols of royal authority. In the case of Silla's Hwangnyongsa, the evi-

dence indicates that it had a platform 32 m × 32 m and a height of about 80 m, substantially shorter than the greatest Chinese pagodas, yet impressive just the same.[109] In interpreting the archaeological and documentary evidence, the authors of the final full-scale report in 2003 seem quite comfortable with a Kudara Ōdera pagoda roughly the same size as the great Silla one. Even though we may still entertain some doubts, the sheer size of the foundation platform is certainly wide enough for a pagoda much taller than the more typical three or five stories (fig. 2.11).[110]

In addition to the work done at the mound, two trenches were dug running south from the mound; in the larger (west) of the two, running on the central north-south axis of the pagoda, what appear to be paving stones (SX 155) were discovered. While this looks to me like a path (*sandō*), the excavators are uncertain as to its identification.[111] Certainly it is in the normal position leading to the pagoda (fig. 2.8). In the smaller of the trenches (east), the roofed corridor (*kairō*) could be seen very clearly. This structure was about 30 m south of the pagoda platform (measured from the south edge of the pagoda to the north edge of the *kairō*); there were rainwater gutters at either side, with a distance of approximately 6.3–6.6 m from center to center, and the platform itself was 5.4 m wide. The bays were about 3–3.4 m, or 11 *shaku* square, a standard width for the Asuka period; it was, of course, of the *tanrō* format, meaning that there were no interior columns. *Horikomi jigyō* was not employed for the foundations. While the overall measurements were typical of Asuka roofed corridors, it was in this case much smaller than we might expect, given the vast scale of the golden hall and pagoda (figs. 2.12, 2.19).[112]

Central to all discussions of early Buddhist architecture in Japan is the west compound of Hōryūji. As noted above, Hōryūji was relatively unimportant in the seventh century, achieving its fame only during the eighth and subsequent centuries with the establishment of the "Shōtoku taishi" cult. The various controversies concerning Ikarugadera-Hōryūji need not be revisited here, but it is essential to keep in mind the tremendous significance of the "Hōryūji plan" in the conceptualization of the evolution of temple planning in early Japan (fig. 2.20). Although there is a tendency to regard the "pagoda-west, golden hall-east" plan seen at Hōryūji as in some way unique, scholars had in fact recognized that there were earlier prototypes. Consequently, the excavators were not overwhelmingly surprised when they realized that the Kibi Pond temple manifested this plan, although they still insist on referring to it by its old name, the Hōryūji plan.[113]

The distance from the center of the golden hall to the center of the pagoda was 84 m, or 240 long *shaku*. This measurement may be of importance in predicting the height of the pagoda, as there is some evidence

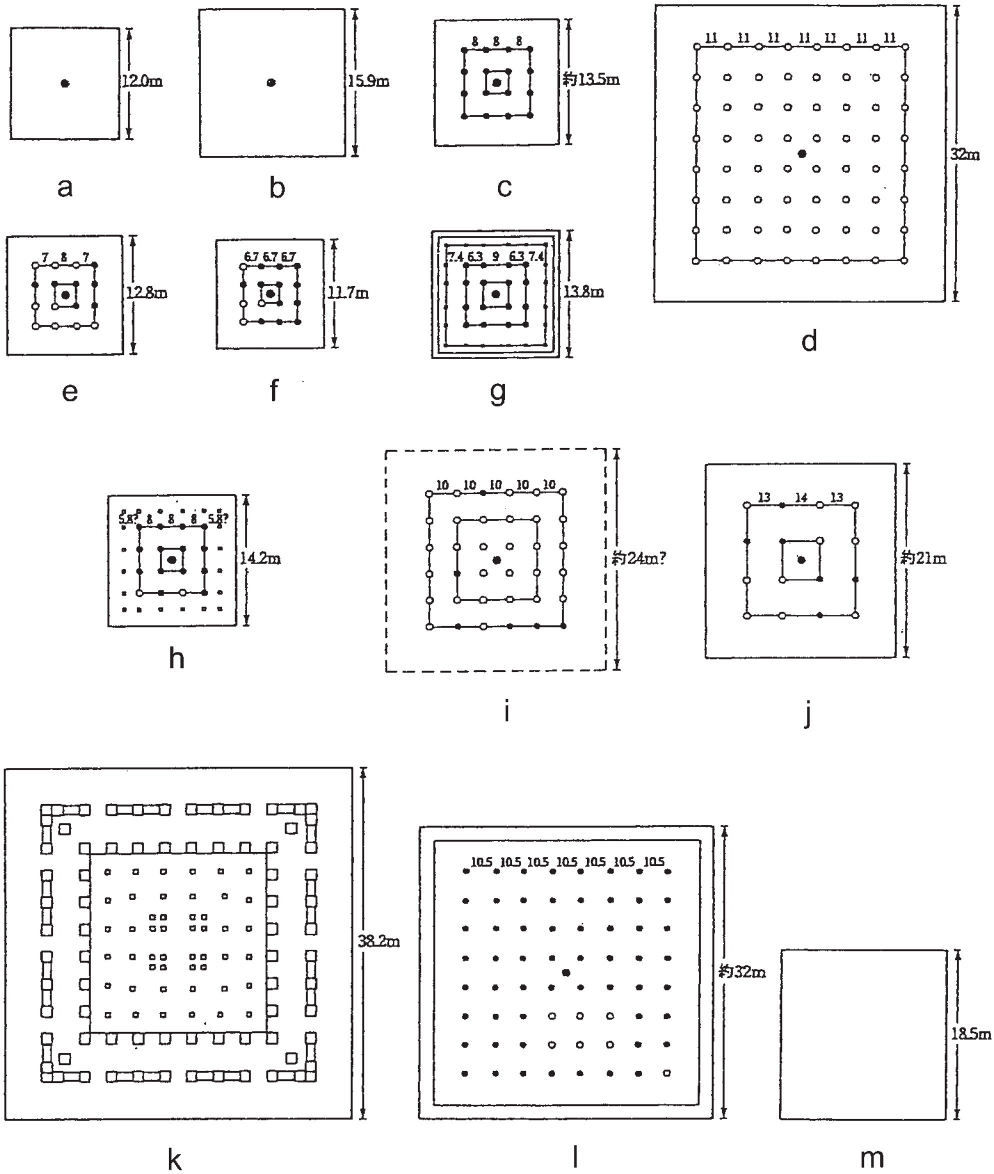


Fig. 2.11. Comparative plans of early pagodas: a. Asukadera, b. Ikarugadera, c. Amadera haiji, d. Kudara Ōdera, e. Yamadadera, f. Kawaradera, g. Hōryūji, h. Yakushiji, i. Monmu Daikandaiji, j. Daianji (west pagoda), k. Yongningsi (Northern Wei), l. Hwangnyongsa (Silla), m. Mirŭksa (Paekche)



Fig. 2.12. Second season (1998), view of roofed corridor excavations

that this center-to-center length roughly equals that height.[114] The distance from the center of the golden hall to the outer side of the south roofed corridor is 56 m, allowing spacious grounds for the monumental structures.

After the golden hall and pagoda remains were excavated in the winters of 1997–1998, the Sakurai City Archaeological Bureau did a salvation excavation at the northeast of the pond between October and December 1998 because of encroaching housing construction; the archaeologists concluded

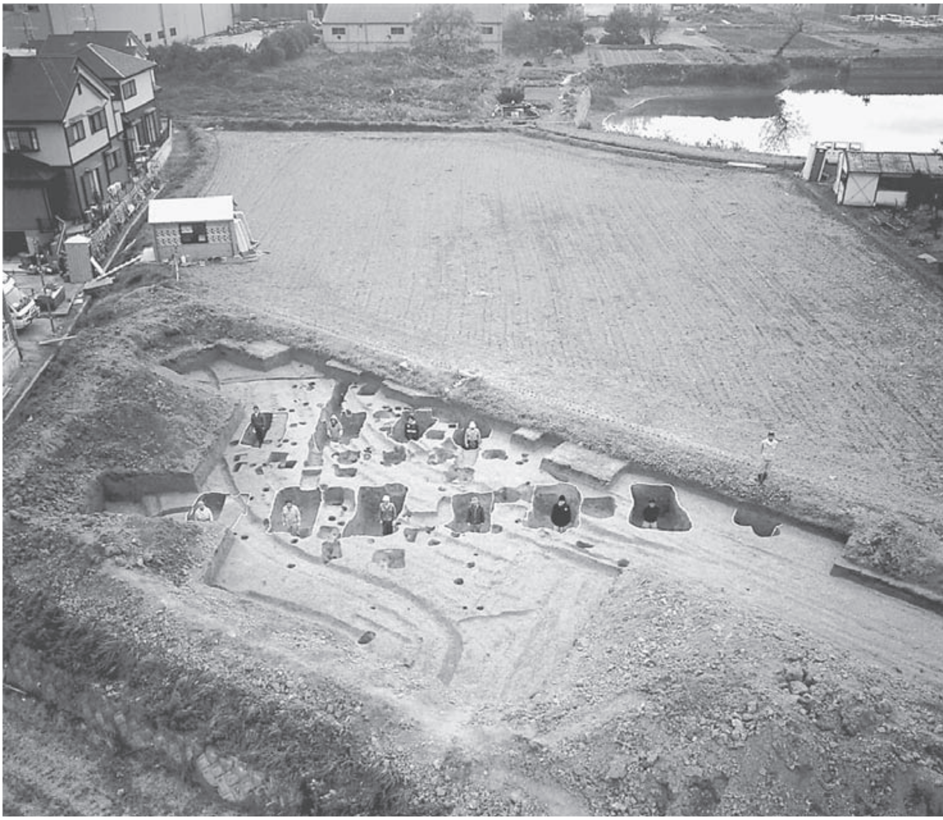


Fig. 2.13. Priests' quarters, Fall, 1998 Sakurai City Archaeological Bureau excavations

that they had discovered the priests' quarters here, certainly the normal place for such structures. Foundation holes were located for a long, narrow building 5.45 m wide and at least 16.4 m long; the bays were 2.72 m (9 *shaku*) east-west and 5.45 m (18 *shaku*) north-south. This structure is thought to have been less complicated architecturally than the golden hall and pagoda, and presumably its roof was not tiled. (fig. 2.13)[115]

1999 CAMPAIGN

The first two campaigns generated tremendous excitement as a result of discovering the extraordinarily large golden hall and pagoda, as well as the south side of the roofed corridor. On account of the location of the golden hall and pagoda, the archaeologists concluded, reasonably enough, that they were dealing with the Hōryūji plan, a format in which the middle gate would be expected to be located on the central north-south axis between the two buildings. But despite the best efforts of the excavators, no signs of the middle gate appeared, and it was clear that the roofed corridor continued to extend farther east.[116] Clearly, this excavation (fig. 2.14) failed to evoke the excitement of the first two, and so I will consider it in less detail,

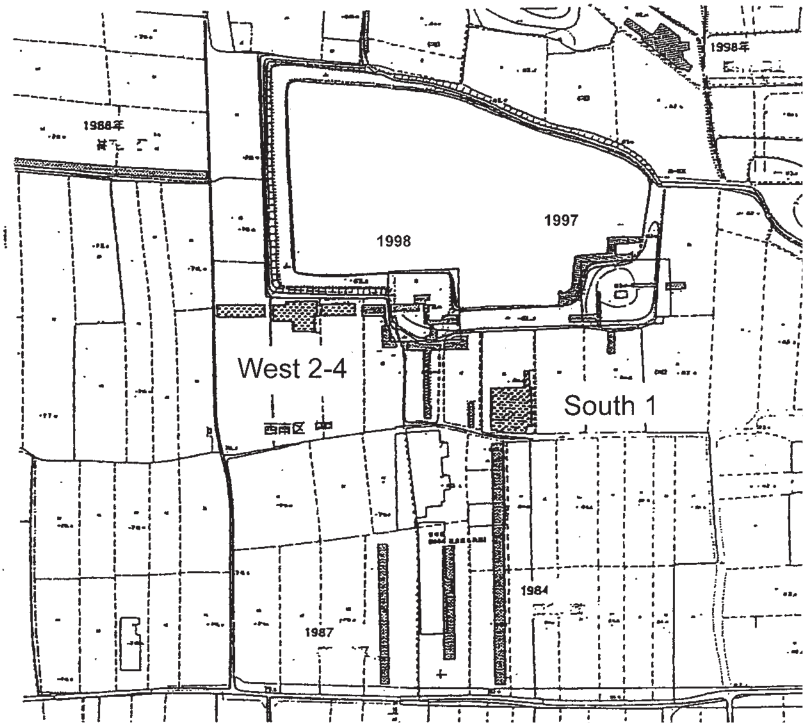


Fig. 2.14. Third season (1999) excavation, search for middle gate

given that the finds were somewhat disappointing to the excavators, who had a strong desire to find a Hōryūji plan.

Excavation in the south sector (south 1) — the area originally thought to be the location of the middle gate — was not futile, for additional details of the roofed corridor emerged. Much of the upper parts of that structure had been sheared off, but it was still possible to locate the cavities from which the foundation stones were removed; these were placed so that the bays were approximately 3 m wide.[117]

Three trenches were dug to the west of the pagoda platform (west 2–4); in that closest to the pagoda (west 2), traces of the west roofed corridor were discovered. Although the state of preservation in this area was extremely poor, the rainwater gutter on the east side of the roofed corridor was found; presumably the gutter on the west side is located between trenches west 2 and 3, not as yet excavated. If this reconstruction is accurate, the distance from the center of the pagoda heart stone to the outside of the roofed corridor would be 35.7 m, or approximately 100 *shaku*.[118] Two small trenches were dug to determine the southwest corner of the roofed corridor.[119] It appeared as if the border of the temple compound was located in trench west 3, as nothing associated with it was found in trench west 4, the furthest west.

After the temple was disassembled and moved to Takechi, the site was leveled and subsequently incorporated into the grid structure of Fujiwarakyō.[120] Evidence for this in south 1 was a number of pits (SK 186–189, 193) and a column hole placed directly in the earth (SB 190), and in the west sectors parallel east-west ditches (SD 219, 226) and the remains of a fence (SA 227).[121] It is also thought that a large ditch (SD 180) just to the south of the south roofed corridor may have been the north side-ditch for Sanjō ōji (Third Great Street), one of the major roads.[122] Needless to say, before the convincing hypothesis that Fujiwarakyō was vastly larger than previously believed — extending east far past Kaguyama — interpretations of these data would have been difficult, since they would not have been readily associated with any known complex.

2000 CAMPAIGN

In 2000 three locations were excavated, referred to as the west, central, and east sectors, as can be seen in fig. 2.15.[123] Since the previous three campaigns had determined many details of the southern part of the temple (with the exception of the location of the middle gate), the archaeologists were now hoping to find the north roofed corridor, the lecture hall, and, if possible, the northern border of the temple; in addition, they wished to clarify the situation of the priests' quarters. Two long, narrow trenches were dug in

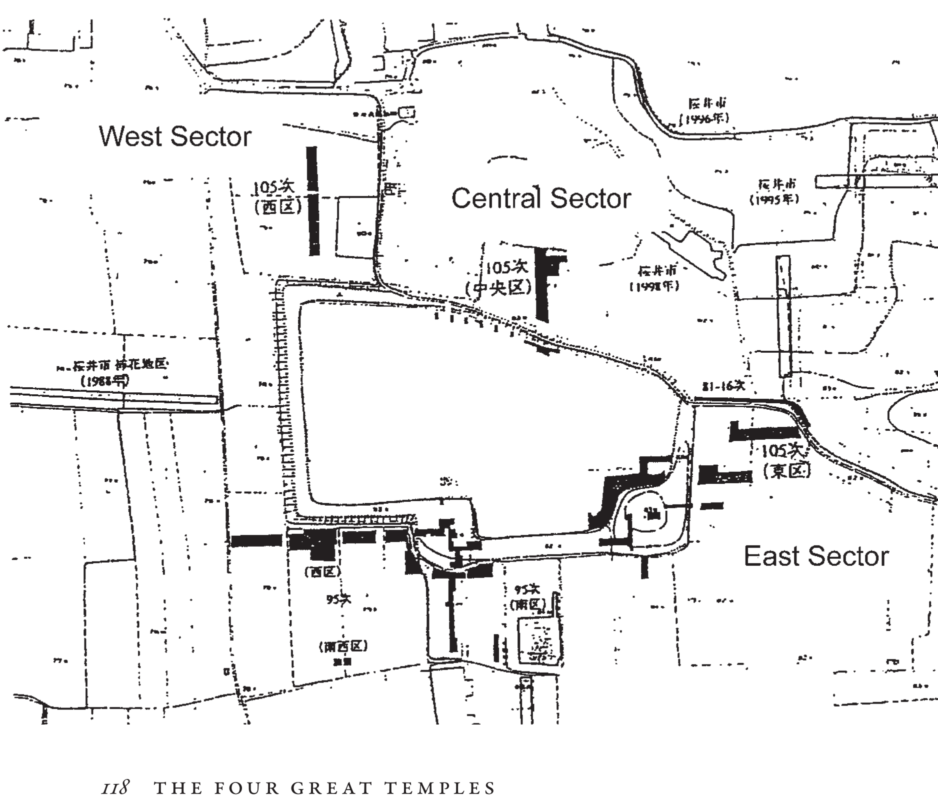


Fig. 2.15. Fourth season (2000) excavations

the west sector, one to the north, the second to the south, but the results were not very interesting. No early finds emerged from either trench, and it proved impossible to locate the northern boundary of the temple.[124]

The central sector also consisted of two trenches, northern and southern, the latter within Kibi Pond, which had been drained for that purpose. Here the search for the north roofed corridor and the lecture hall was carried out, but neither structure was discovered. Nevertheless, the excavation of the northern trench was fruitful, for the continuation of the priests' quarters was located, extending to the west from the section previously excavated by Sakurai City in 1998. Apparently the southern edge of the hill to the north had been removed and the area leveled in order to construct a building; location SB 260 included the cavities from which *hottate* columns had been removed. The archaeologists reconstructed the building as more than three bays wide and two bays deep; the pits for the columns were about 1.5 m sq and about 1 m deep. The east-west axis of this building was the same as those of the golden hall and pagoda. In addition, this central east-west axis was directly related to the section excavated previously by Sakurai City, so it is apparent that the two sections were built at the same time.[125] An important result was the understanding of one of the north-south dimensions of the complex, determined by measuring from the north side of the priests' quarters to the south side of the south roofed corridor, which equals about 156.3 m, or almost exactly 440 long *shaku*. Since the north roofed corridor was not located, it was impossible to calculate the precise distance enclosed by the north and south roofed corridors, although obviously it was smaller than the distance east-west. The archaeologists believe that the total north-south length of the temple grounds may have been more than 260 m.[126] Eight small trenches on the southern part of the central sector were dug in the drained pond, but the lecture hall was not found in what would have been a standard location. (Of course, there is always the possibility that in digging the pond in the Edo period they totally obliterated traces of the lecture hall.) They did, however, find some evidence for earth preparation that may have been related to some structure of the temple.[127]

In the east sector, two east-west trenches were dug, a northern and a southern one. Traces of the east roofed corridor were found in the south trench (SC 300).[128] As a result of this discovery, the west, south, and east sides of the main compound were now clear, and it became possible to estimate the width of the temple compound. At present it is estimated that the distance from the central axes of the east and west roofed corridors is approximately 156.2 m, suggesting that the full breadth of the temple would probably exceed 180 m.[129]

The excavators were particularly happy with their results at the northwest corner of the south trench, which overlapped the northeast corner of

the golden hall platform, since these confirmed and enhanced some data from the first, 1997 campaign. Especially interesting were two rows of columns, in an "L" shape found here; it is not certain what these were for, but they may have been used to make a scaffolding during the deconstruction of the temple.[130]

2000–2001 CAMPAIGN BY SAKURAI CITY

The Sakurai Archaeological Bureau conducted excavations from 2000.12.4 until 2001.1.12 on the low hill to the north of Kibi Pond, somewhat to the northeast of Kasuga shrine, where a small building was discovered (figs. 2.16, 2.17).[131] Actually, the archaeologists identified four distinct levels at the site: level I, the lowest, contained a domestic structure dating to the late-sixth-early seventh century, and levels II and III apparently also contained similar structures; these three structures are all significantly off a north-south axis. Level IV appears to date to the period of the Kibi Pond temple, and, importantly, it is oriented to the true north, like all the other buildings in the temple complex. Three bays were located on the north-south axis, measuring 6.9 m, and one bay was found on the east-west axis of 2.3 m; in both cases, but especially for the latter, the assumption is that there were more bays in the original structure. This building was constructed in the *hottate* mode, similar to that seen in the priests' quarters. Although it is not clear what its function was, it certainly seems reasonable to suggest that it was part of the Kibi Pond temple. It was sited about 4 m above the temple proper.

2001 CAMPAIGN

The 2001 campaign was the final phase of a five-year project (fig 2.17). After the spectacular results of the first two campaigns, none of the subsequent campaigns were as interesting, and some of the expected results did not materialize. Two areas were excavated in 2001, designated as the south and north sectors. The south sector was particularly important because, as we have already seen, the greatest disappointment earlier was the lack of a middle gate in the normal, central position. The excavators had already formed the hypothesis that the principal gate was in front of the golden hall and so that is where they excavated; not surprisingly, they were able to find it here.[132] The remains of what are believed to indicate the contours of the gate can be seen most clearly at the lower, left-hand corner of the illustration (fig. 2.18). Stones found here are assumed to delineate the rainwater gutters (SD 161, 321) around the gate at the southwest corner, where it jogs out from the roofed corridor. This gate measures 12 m × 9.8 m, in a three-bay by two-bay format; the cavities for the foundation stones could not be located, but the archaeologists have reconstructed it as 3.6 m for the central bay, flanked by two bays at 2.7 m, with the two side bays at 3.4 m; these



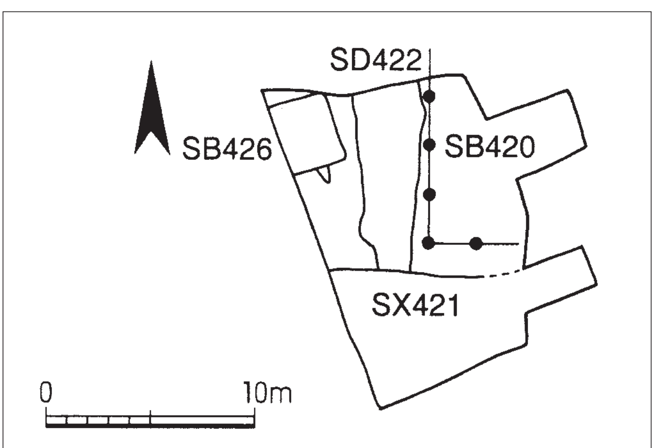


Fig. 2.16. 2000–2001 campaign by Sakurai City: View of site from east (above), plan of site (below)

dimensions yield a 1.5 m veranda around the gate structure, and would necessitate eaves of about 1.8 m.[133] These overall dimensions are quite small for a seventh-century gate (Asukadera's is 15.3 m × 13.6 m; Kawaradera's, 14 m × 10.1 m; and Yakushiji's, 16.3 m × 8.9 m), and are comparable to the much less important Tachibanadera (10.9 m × 9.1 m); clearly such a gate is rather small for a temple with such a large golden hall and pagoda (fig. 2.19). In that respect, the very large Monmu Daikandaiji middle gate was 31.6 m × 20.7 m, more than what might be expected.[134]

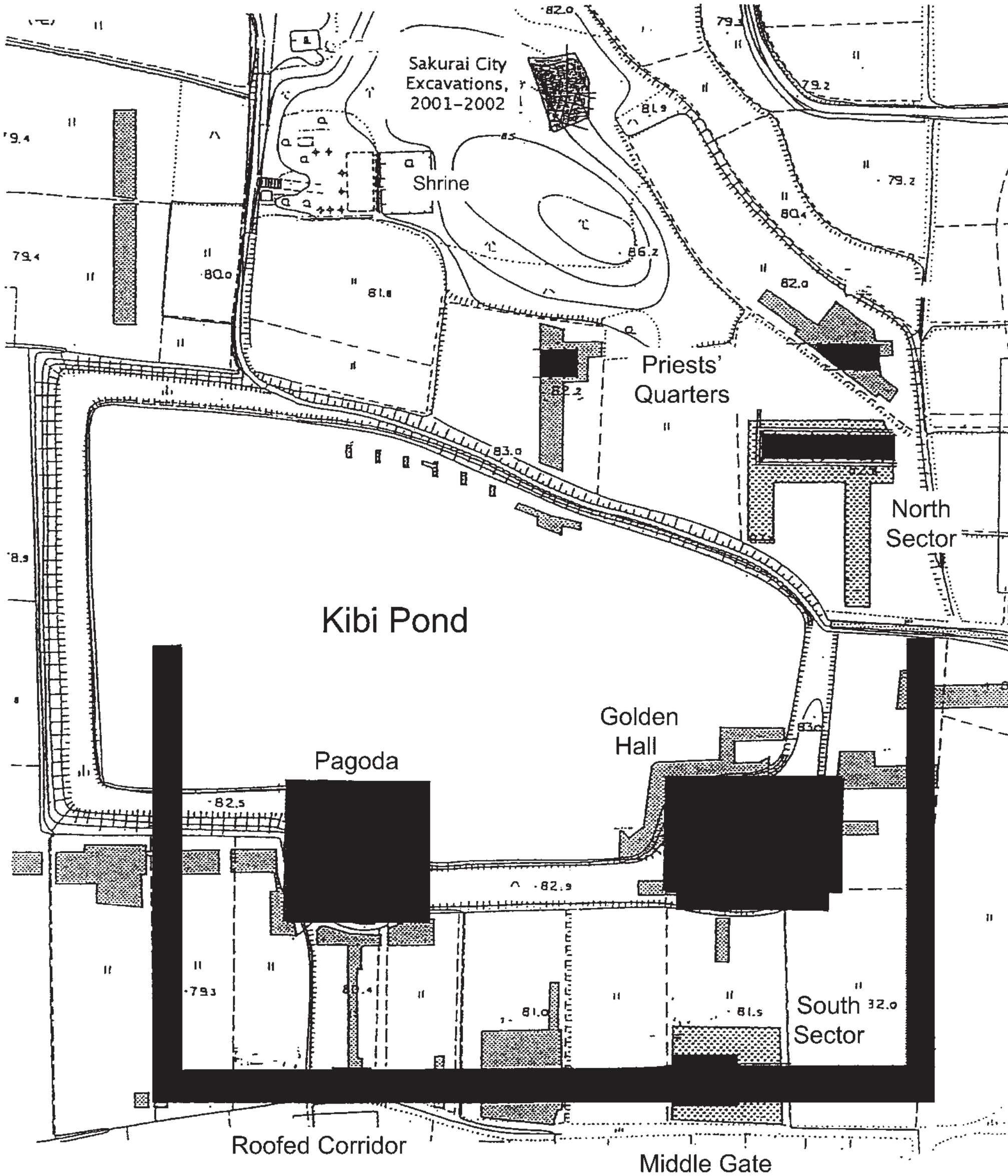


Fig. 2.17. Fifth season (2001) excavations, tentative ground plan of temple

Perhaps the most peculiar feature of this gate is its placement some 10.6 m west of the central north-south axis of the golden hall (measured from that axis to the central north-south axis of the gate).[135] From the beginning it had seemed rather odd to have the gate in front of the golden hall, and its off-center placement seems even odder. Nevertheless, the excavators located what they thought was a roughly parallel plan at a temple called Sugizaki haiji in Gifu Prefecture; this temple is of the so-called Hōkiji plan, with a golden hall to the west and a pagoda to the east, but as can be seen in the



Fig. 2.18. Fifth season (2001) excavations, view of middle gate site

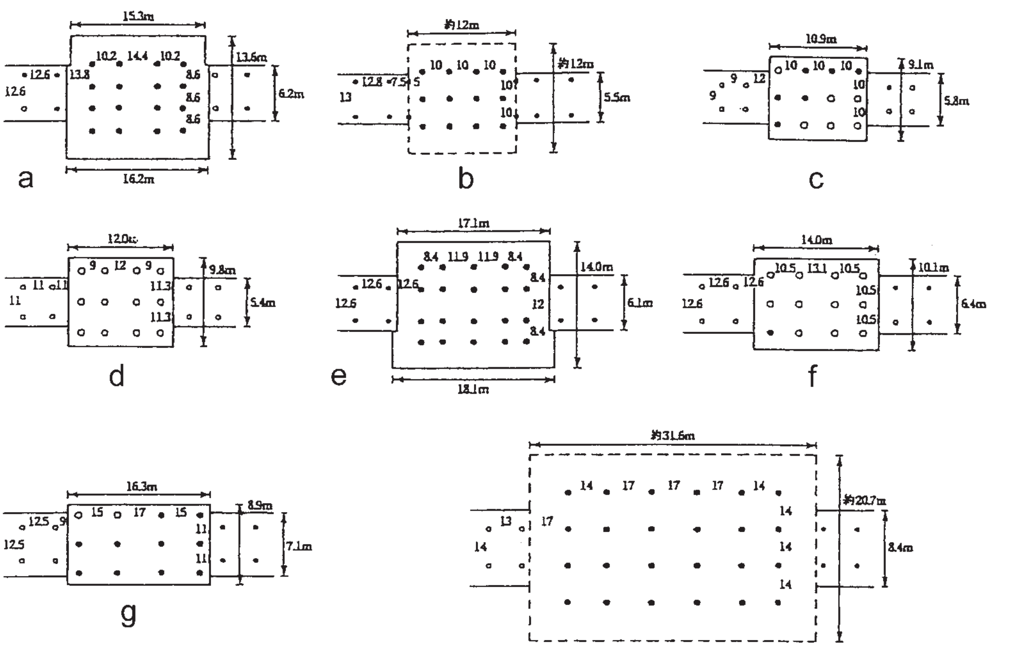


Fig. 2.19. Comparative plans of middle gates: a. Asukadera, b. Shitennōji, c. Tachibanadera, d. Kudara Ōdera, e. Hōryūji, f. Kawaradera, g. Yakushiji, h. Monmu Daikandaiji

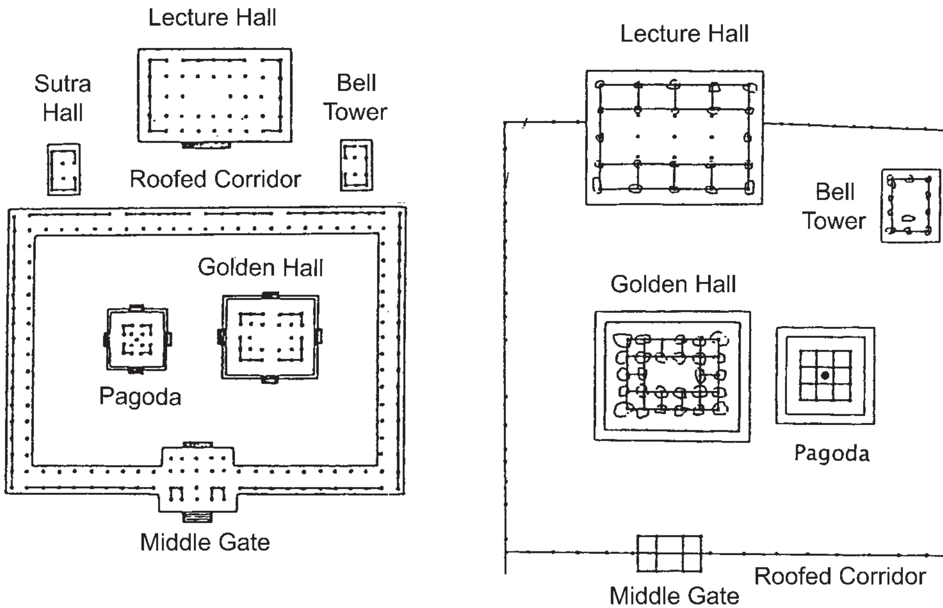


Fig. 2.20. Comparative plans: Hōryūji (left), b. Sugizaki haiji (right)

diagram, in that temple the middle gate is similarly placed in front of the golden hall (fig. 2.20).[136]

The roofed corridor was a continuation of the section excavated in 1999; at the east side two column cavities (SX 324) with diameters of about 1.2 m × 1.5 m were found. These were on the north side of the roofed corridor and had bays of about 3 m.[137] Although it was impossible to determine the exact width, it seems consistent with the results determined in 1999.

Excavation in the south sector was complicated by the presence of slightly later remains. A ditch (SD 180) 2–3 m wide and about 60 cm deep ran through the lower part of the sector, continuing the ditch discovered to the west in 1999. The current assumption is that this is a ditch placed at the north side of Sanjō ōji of Fujiwarakyō; no signs of the south ditch have been located.[138] Also continuing from the west are the traces of a fence (SA 325); probably this too is from construction for Fujiwarakyō.[139]

In the north sector two long, parallel north-south trenches were dug, joined at the top by an east-west trench. The archaeologists searched for the north roofed corridor in the longer, north-south trench to the east, but were unable to find it. However, in the east-west trench well-preserved remains of another priests' quarters (SB 340) were discovered, below and parallel to those of the 1998 Sakurai City site and running in a continual line from their own 2000 excavation, further to the west. This building had, of course, the same *hottate* column pits seen in the priests' quarters already investigated. The long, narrow structure was 28 m × 5.4 m and was arranged in an eleven-bay by two-bay format; the bays on the long side (east-west)

were 2.5 m wide, those on the short side (north-south) 2.7 m. The cavities from which the columns were pulled ranged between 1.5 and 2 m, while it is estimated that the columns had a diameter of 30–35 cm.[140] More material was discovered in this area than previously in other areas, including a quite large number of tiles. This suggested to the archaeologists that there must have been an important building in this area. Since the priests' quarters would not have had a tiled roof, one possibility is that these tiles are what is left of the lecture hall, although this remains speculative since, as we have seen, no traces of the foundations of the lecture hall have been found.[141]

The evidence is still incomplete, but these excavations do provide valuable evidence for the priests' quarters at the first stages of Buddhism in Japan. Up until now, scholars have relied on the excavations at Kawaradera to give an idea as to appearance of the priests' quarters. As can be seen in a reconstruction model of Kawaradera, the priests' quarters can be placed behind the north roofed corridor (fig. 3.1).[142]

2001 CAMPAIGN BY SAKURAI CITY

The Sakurai Archaeological Bureau undertook further salvage excavations to the south of Kibi Pond in July 2001 as a result of continuing development (fig. 2.21).[143] A single trench was dug, and the excavators believe they have located what appears to be a very large south gate for the temple, directly south of the previously discovered middle gate. Two parallel east-west rainwater gutters were located approximately 15 m apart; the stone work was in rather poor condition, causing some difficulties in interpretation. Nevertheless, the archaeologists postulated a south gate of approximately 15 m by 18 m; since the trench was narrow, I am not sure how they calculated the east-west dimensions. While this reconstruction is certainly possible, some doubts have been expressed about the theory, especially because ordinarily the middle gate is larger than the south gate, but in the present case the proportions are reversed.[144] Certainly further excavation, if that is possible, would be desirable. In addition to the south gate, the excavators also postulated a roofed mud wall that surrounds the larger temple complex, since a gate would not stand alone. With this hypothesis in mind, they also suggested an interpretation of some previously enigmatic results from yet another salvage campaign to the north-east of the pond carried out in 1995. That year is prior to the formulation of Kibi Pond = Kudara Ōdera theory, but with this theory in mind the earlier results can possibly be interpreted as the eastern part of the roofed mud wall; consequently, the overall dimensions of the complex are becoming somewhat clearer, and it is only in the north that the situation is still entirely uncertain.[145]

I HAVE PRESENTED the results of the various campaigns in considerable detail in order to give a better sense of the texture of an ambitious ar-

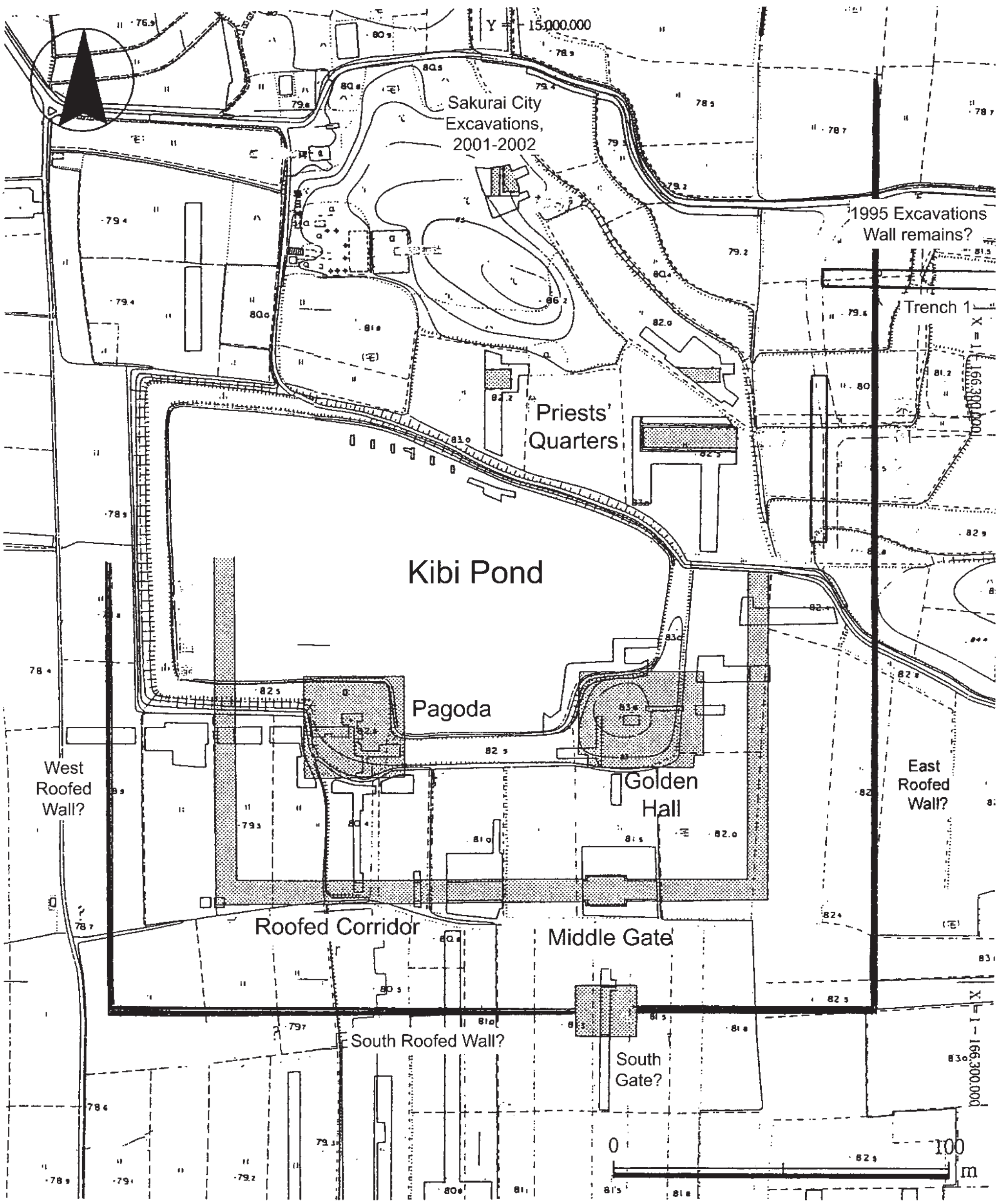


Fig. 2.21. 2001 Sakurai City Archaeological Bureau excavations, south gate (?) and roofed wall (?)

chaeological project. At this stage, it is difficult to recapture the excitement generated by the 1997 and 1998 digs, especially since those of 1999–2001 produced considerably less spectacular results. Nevertheless, even after only one season the excavators presented with considerable confidence their theory that they had discovered the location of Kudara Ōdera. With the 1998 excavation of the pagoda site, they asserted that their identification was al-

most certain, and in each subsequent season the hypothesis was reinforced. Initially, there was still some skepticism about the theory, but most scholars now appear convinced.

Difficulties are encountered in precisely determining the north-south length of the temple grounds, although an estimate is possible on the basis of the results of two Sakurai City excavations, no. 11 (2000–2001) and no. 12 (2001).[146] The former (north) includes a structure, SD 422, and the latter (south) another structure, SD 442, both believed to be associated with the temple; the distance between these two is more than 260 m (from the north side of SD 422 to the south side of SD 442), which gives the approximate north-south extension of the temple grounds. The distance between the central axes of the east and west roofed corridors is about 156.2 m in the east-west direction, so at more than 260 m × 180 m, the Kibi Pond temple is extremely large for an early temple.

Of course, the main structures were enclosed within the roofed corridor. As noted above, earlier examples of the golden hall–east/pagoda-west plan have been discovered, and in this context the nearby Abedera is particularly important. Not only does that temple have a plan similar to that of Kibi Pond, but the tiles excavated there are similar to those of Kibi Pond, Kinomoto haiji, and Yamadadera. The authors of the report suggest that possibly Abe Kurahashi Maro, cited in *Daianji engi* as one of the two supervisors appointed for the building of Kudara Ōdera by Kōgyoku in 642, may, in fact, have been responsible for building both Kudara Ōdera and his own clan temple, Abedera. Certainly, there appears to be a close relationship between the two temples.[147]

The final report includes an interesting but very hypothetical reconstruction of the temple complex (fig. 2.22).[148] This postulates a second middle gate in front of the pagoda, so that the temple would be provided with both east and west middle gates. In this reconstruction, the east edge of the west middle gate is placed farther east than the east side of the pagoda, apparently to maintain a symmetrical arrangement between the gates and the roofed corridor. An unfortunate result of this plan is that the west middle gate is even less appropriately placed in relation to the pagoda than east middle gate to golden hall; all in all, if accurate this is a rather peculiar design. We have to wonder, furthermore, if it is assumed that there were also doubled south gates.

Another problem relates to possible locations for the north roofed corridor and a lecture hall. Obviously, the available space is limited by the southern edge of the priests' quarters. As discussed in Chapter 1, there are several possible placements of the lecture hall, and the authors of the report have selected the alternative where it is located outside of the roofed corridor (fig. 1.20). In order to fit everything in, they assume the north roofed corridor was far closer to the backs of the golden hall and pagoda than was the south

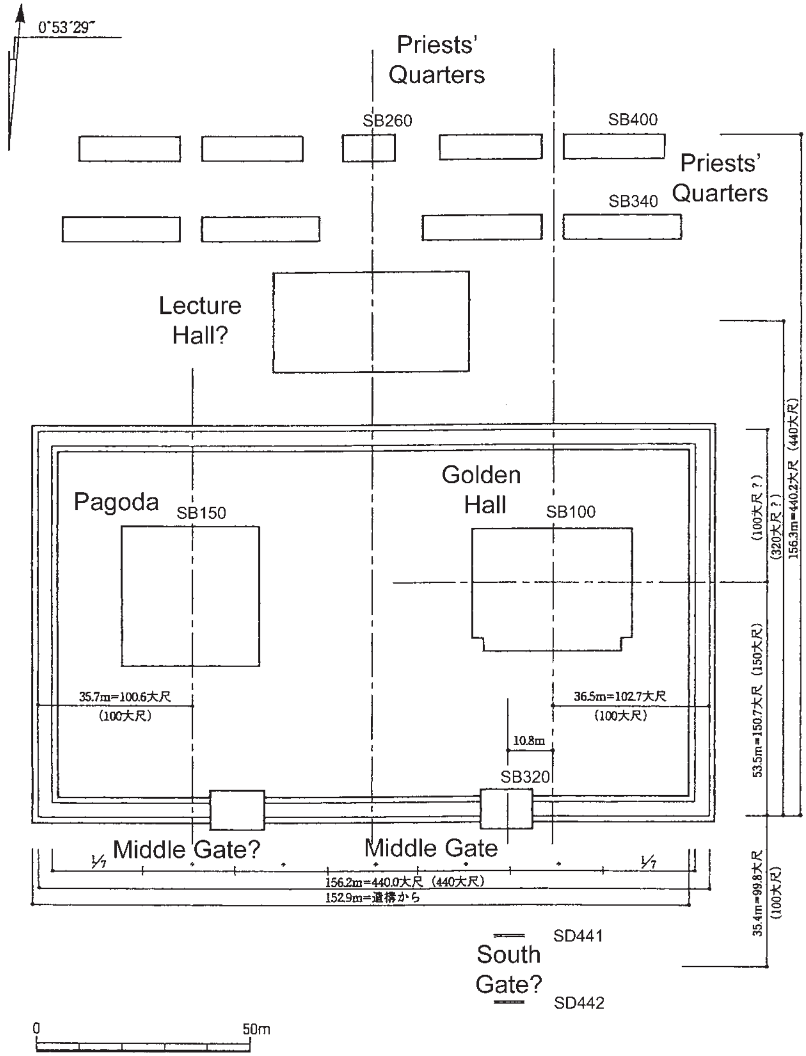
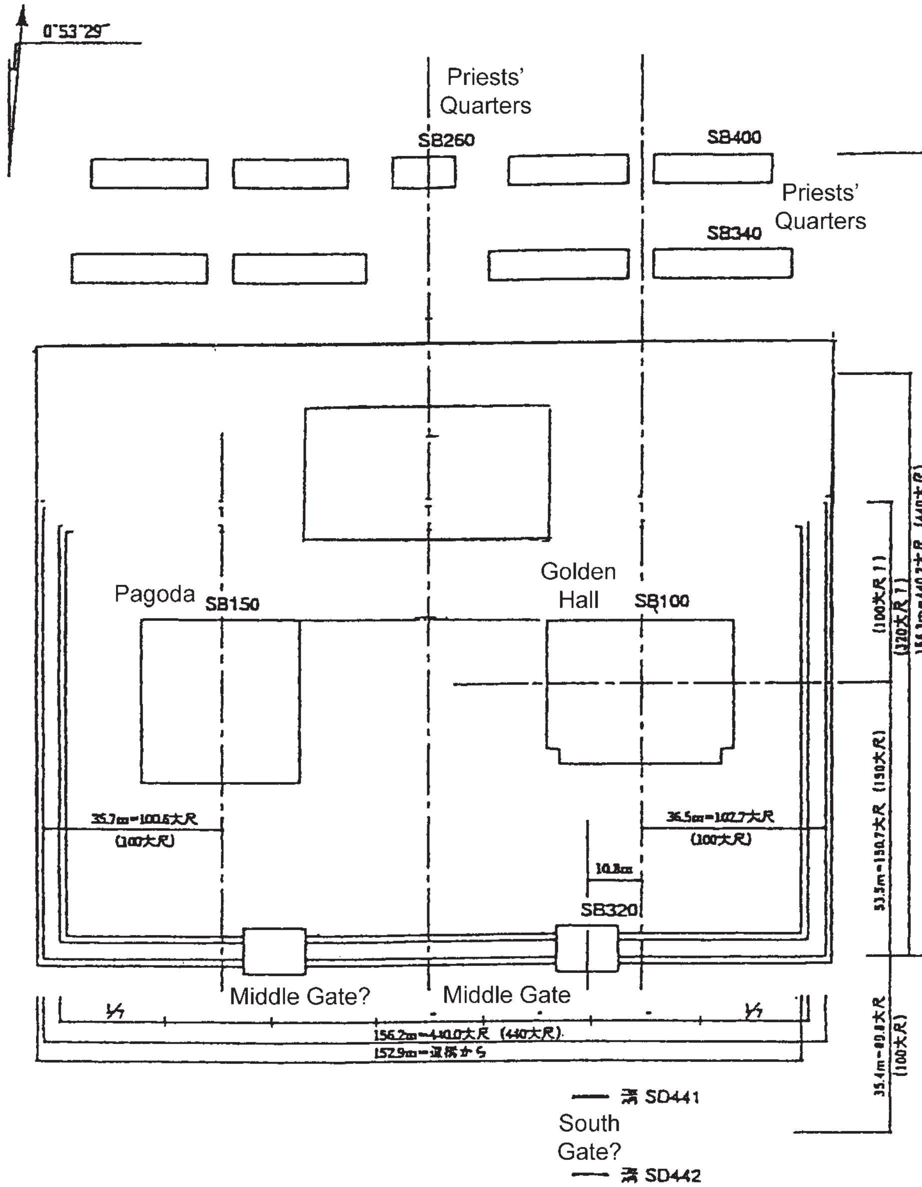


Fig. 2.22. Tentative reconstruction of temple plan (2003)

roofed corridor to their fronts. One result of this decision, at least to my eyes, is that there is an extraordinary void in the central part of the inner compound between the golden hall and pagoda. Although this is speculation, I wonder if a more satisfactory arrangement would result from extending the roofed corridor much farther north in order to place the lecture hall within the inner compound (fig. 2.23)? Since I am indulging in mere speculation here, perhaps a scripture hall and a bell tower could have been placed behind the two principal buildings, thereby adequately filling the large area at the back. Alternatively, the lecture hall may have been embedded in the north roofed corridor, as at Kawaradera (fig. 2.24).

Because three units of priests' quarters were located, two to the east



(SB 340 and SB 400) and one at the center (SB 260), the hypothetical plan imagines extensions to the west, for a total of nine structures in all. This many individual structures would certainly accommodate a significant number of priests, although here, too, we must be cautious in assessing the plan.

With the completion of the fifth campaign in 2001 and the publication of the final excavation report in 2003, the work at Kibi Pond undertaken by Nabunken was concluded, and at present they have no specific plans for

Fig. 2.23. McCallum reconstruction 1: lecture hall within roofed corridor

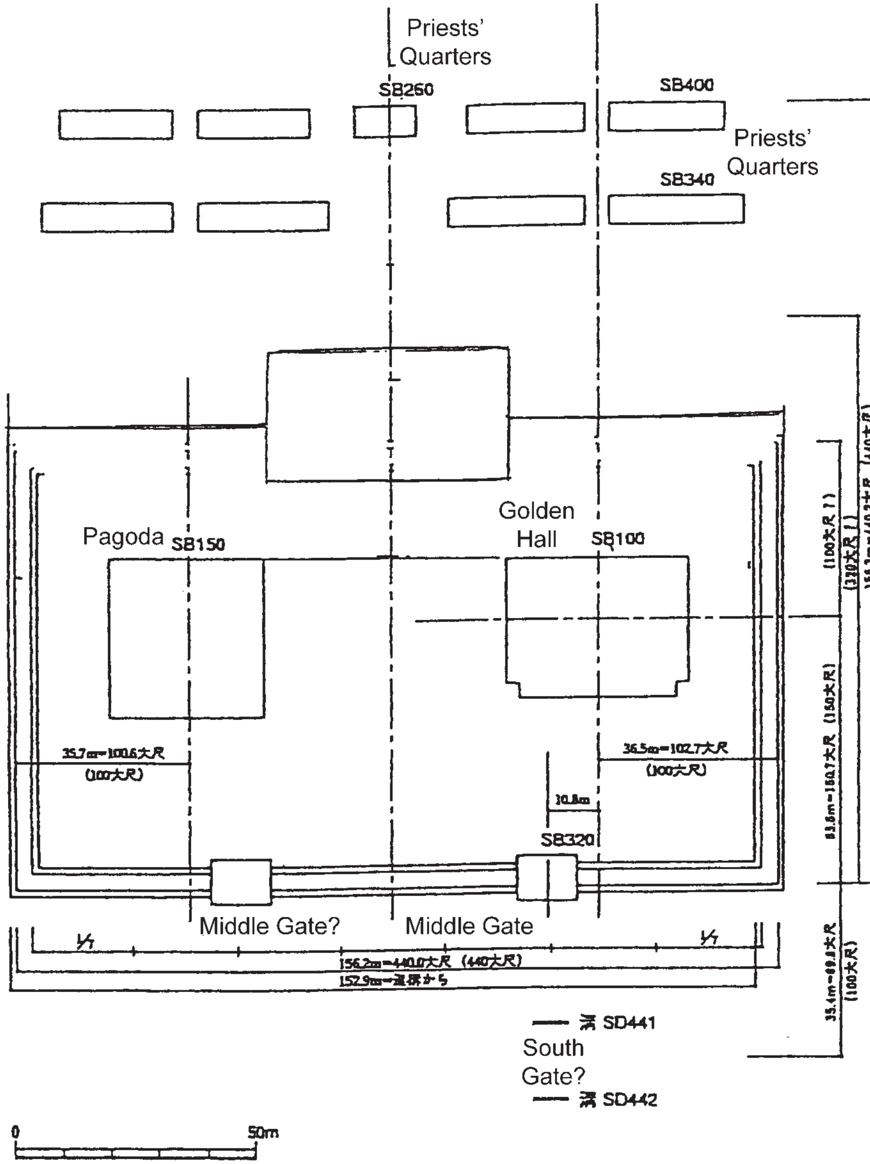


Fig. 2.24. McCallum reconstruction 2: lecture hall embedded in roofed corridor

further excavation. Sakurai City will presumably continue to excavate the periphery of the main site when necessary in response to further development in the area. Because there are so many unanswered questions, we can only hope that excavations in the future may provide at least some answers. In addition to the problem of the locations of the lecture hall and north roofed corridor, further study of both the golden hall and pagoda mounds would be desirable since in the initial campaigns relatively small segments of these mounds were explored. In particular, the nature of the siding of

the two mounds deserves careful investigation as the current suggestion, that they were constructed of wood, is rather surprising. Perhaps the most troubling feature of the current reconstruction of the temple plan is where the middle gate(s) and south gate(s) are located; this certainly calls for additional study.

Tiles

A crucial element in the determination of the date of the Kibi Pond site relates to the chronological phase of the roof tiles; significantly, while very few tiles were discovered, those that were are consistent in stylistic characteristics, allowing for reasonable confidence in dating. A word about the paucity of roof tiles at the site: while this might be troubling under normal circumstances, in this instance the archaeologists have taken it as confirmation of the 673 record describing the transfer of the temple from Kudara to Takechi; they assume that the tiles, along with other components, were physically moved to the new site. In Chapter 1, we examined in some detail the very extensive commitment of labor and materials required to roof a temple, and of course such an investment would have been much greater for the Kibi Pond temple, given its extraordinary size. Since it is well known that roof tiles were often brought from kilns located at substantial distances from the temple, it seems plausible that deconstructing the original roof and taking the tiles to a location not far away would have been much less expensive than producing a whole complement of new tiles.[149]

When the relatively simple Paekche-style tiles of Asukadera were considered in Chapter 1, not much was said about other tile types utilized in the early phases of temple-building in the Asuka region because those types were not directly relevant to that discussion. However, there are many varieties of tiles in quite simple formats in this region, at temples such as Toyuradera, Okuyama haiji, Wada haiji, Sakatadera, and so forth. Archaeologists believe that this early phase of production extended into the 630s and was succeeded around 640 by a striking new format conventionally referred to as the Yamadadera type (Yamadaderashiki). How exactly this type developed is uncertain, but Mori Ikuo has suggested that it was a Japanese invention. While we must be cautious about such ideas, we can readily imagine that in the course of several decades of work the craftsmen could have formulated novel designs. Significantly, the Yamadadera-style roof tile became the dominant style in temples built from this time until the 660s, that is, for approximately twenty to thirty years.[150]

For the moment we are concerned only with the round eave-end tile (*noki marugawara*) of the Yamadadera style because the flat eave-end tile (*noki hiragawara*) utilized at the Kibi Pond site is of an entirely different lineage. Since there are relatively few Kibi Pond–style round eave-end tiles

extant, and since the extremely numerous Yamadadera type is very well studied, it may be best to begin our characterization of the form with it.

The Yamadadera round eave-end tile is of the eight-petal format, but in contrast to the design of the first phase (such as the Asukadera type, figs. 1.18 left, 1.19) it incorporates a new element, a small, additional petal that grows out from the central zone, lying flat on the principal petal and extending to just past the middle of that petal (fig. 2.25 above).[151] Contrasting with the rather flat petals of the first phase, those of this tile are more fully modeled; a central, raised ridge extends to the tip, and the petal bulges out to the ridge. The tips of the main petals point up strongly, as do those of the intermediate petals. Each petal has a raised border that clearly defines the configuration, and encircling the tile is a raised ridge zone, decorated with concentric grooves.

The Kibi Pond round eave-end tile (fig. 2.25 below) has essentially the same basic elements, the only obvious difference in motif is that its central zone has eight seeds, while the Yamadadera tile has six.[152] There are two basic categories of Kibi Pond round eave-end tiles, designated as Type IA and IB; although they are very similar, subtle differences can be seen, with Type IB having a slightly fuller rim and a wider diameter in the seed pod.[153] The Kinomoto haiji tiles (fig. 2.26) are identical to those of Kibi Pond, but there are also other occurrences of the Kibi Pond round eave-end tile in addition to those of Kinomoto haiji. Particularly important are those of Shitennōji (Osaka); these tiles show signs of wear and damage in the mold, indicating that they were made later than the Kibi tiles, probably at the same time that Kōtoku was building the Naniwa capital at mid-century. Archaeological evidence indicates that the Shitennōji tiles were made at the Hirano kiln (Hirano gayō). Later still, but in the same style, are the tiles of Kaieji (Osaka).[154]

On the basis of a very detailed analysis, archaeologists have asserted that the Kibi Pond/Kinomoto haiji round eave-end tiles are slightly earlier than the Yamadadera tiles.[155] If this hypothesis can be proved, it is highly significant, since the implications would be that the original formulation of the new motifs was undertaken for a royal temple, and, consequently, the Yamadadera tile must have followed that novel form.[156]

The format of the flat eave-end tiles of Kibi Pond and Kinomoto haiji is completely different from that of Yamadadera. While the latter has parallel bands (similar to the rings at the border of the round eave-end tile), the former has palmette decoration. As was the case with the Kibi-Kinomoto round eave-end tile, the flat eave-end tile also can be divided broadly into Type IA and Type IB.[157] The palmette decoration is derived from that employed for the flat eave-end tiles of Ikarugadera (fig. 2.27a), which was produced by pressing a stamp onto the surface of the wet clay, with the motif alternately facing up and down. (In some cases, there is also evidence of





Fig. 2.25. Tile comparison: Yamadadera (above), Kibi Pond (below)

hand carving.) Although the same stamp was utilized for the Kibi Pond and Kinomoto haiji flat eave-end tile, for some unknown reason in their cases the palmette motif only faced down (fig. 2.27b, 2.27c). The usual assumption is that the Ikarugadera flat eave-end form dates to the 620s or 630s, slightly before the date of Kudara Ōdera.[158]



Fig. 2.26. Kinomoto haiji tile

Significantly, the sizes of the Kibi Pond round eave-end tiles are about 20 percent larger than other tiles of the period, at approximately 20 cm in diameter. These dimensions seem appropriate for structures on the grand scale of those of the Kibi Pond temple.[159] It should be noted again that, because of the very large number of tiles needed to roof these buildings, very few tiles were found, and most of these were fragmentary. But it is particularly surprising that no tiles or fragments were found near the pagoda remains.

Given that the round eave-end tile under consideration here is the most up-to-date of the period, it is not surprising that it should appear nearly simultaneously at two highly important temples. Certainly the very close connections between the Soga clan and Jomei would justify its adoption at Kibi Pond/Kinomoto haiji and Yamadadera; after all, Soga no Kurayamada Ishikawa Maro was one of the most powerful leaders of the time. (This argument would also work if priority is given to the Yamadadera tile in terms of these same close relations.[160])

The situation of the flat eave-end tiles must also be explicated, a somewhat more difficult task. Clearly those scholars who place great weight on the centrality of Ikarugadera and Prince Stable Door for early Asuka politics will see the adoption of that form as symbolizing an "imperial" connection between Jomei and Stable Door. This position goes along with the idea mentioned earlier that Kudara Ōdera was vowed and constructed as an assertion of royal authority against the "tyranny" of the Soga. While this is not illogical, a couple of questions come quickly to mind: if such a royal connection was being made, why would the execution of the motif



Fig. 2.27. Tile comparisons, flat eave-end tiles: Ikaruga-dera (top), Kibi Pond site (middle), Kinomoto haiji site (bottom)

be so ungainly, especially those with the concentric lines superimposed on the surface (fig. 2.27c); and if we assume a degree of tension between the Jomei faction and the Soga, why would the Soga immediately be allowed to adopt the stunning new form of the round eave-end tile? These problems certainly present crucial unsolved issues for the history of the period.[161]

Although not directly related to the theme of this chapter, a word or two more needs to be said about the history of the round eave-end tile form under discussion. Extensive research has demonstrated that, in addition to the Shitennōji and Kaieji examples, there is a considerable diffusion of the type over a broader area, especially in the eastern part of Japan. In general, the tile type is found at newly established temples in the Tōkaidō sphere, suggesting to archaeologists that its spread is connected with a campaign to

extend a Buddhist presence into areas where the religion had not previously been important. Of course, we still wonder if this process was motivated by the Jomei faction, the Soga clan, or perhaps even both. To my mind, the conflict between the two has often been very much overdrawn, for the sorts of ideological reasons that I have already explored.[162]

Arguments concerning Kibi Pond Site as Kudara Ōdera

The suggestion that the Kibi Pond site was indeed that of Kudara Ōdera was proposed at the end of the first excavation season, and although not all scholars were convinced initially, as the excavations proceeded through the five seasons, it became increasingly likely that the identification was, in fact, accurate. Consequently, while some of the following points may now be moot, from a historiographical and methodological perspective they are of considerable interest. There will be some unavoidable repetition here, but I hope the results will produce greater clarity. Reasons supporting the hypothesis include the following:[163]

1. The scales of the foundations are extremely large, too large for a clan temple but appropriate for a great temple.
2. The excavated tiles correspond exactly to the date for Kudara Ōdera given in the documentary sources.
3. The number of excavated tiles was low and no foundation stones were discovered, which is consistent with the textual record that the temple was moved in 673.
4. There were no tiles made for retiling, indicating that the site was used for only a relatively short time.
5. The scale of the pagoda foundations seems consistent with the nine-story pagoda mentioned in the texts.
6. In the area around the pond there are places called "Kobe," suggesting a connection with Kobesha.
7. Earlier excavations discovered traces of a river to the south, which may have been the Kudara River.
8. From the ancient period this area was consistently called Tōchigun, the area where *Nihon Sandai jitsuroku* says Kudara Ōdera was located.

As is typical of any scholarly discourse, a reading of such persuasive reasons cannot help but convince us. But I think that it is very important to realize there is a very strong *desire* for the identification of Kibi Pond with Kudara Ōdera. At the important symposium held at Tezukayama University on March 22, 1998, Ōmi Toshihide was given the devil's advocate task of putting forth possible objections to the identification.[164] By that date what was assumed to be both the golden hall and the pagoda had been

excavated, and even though there were still three more campaigns to go, it is reasonable to say that the primary basis for the identification had already been established. Some of Ōmi's cautionary objections, as well as one or two other points include the following.

1. The excavations are still incomplete in the sense that neither the lecture hall nor the north roofed corridor has been located.
2. There are some peculiar details, especially the small size of the middle gate and its placement off axis. The recent discovery of what may be the large south gate further complicates the matter.
3. Earlier candidates, such as the Kōryōchō Kudaradera and Kinomoto haiji, have not yet been adequately reassessed.
4. The investigations of the Kudara River are inconclusive.
5. Since the texts state that a palace was also constructed, we must ask where the Kudara Palace was located in relation to Kibi Pond.

An effort was made at this early stage to seek other tentative interpretations of the Kibi Pond site. Could the site be the remains of an unfinished temple? Perhaps there were two Kudara Ōdera sites, one associated with Jomei, the other with Kōgyoku. Possibly the site was a clan temple, not an "imperial" temple.[165]

If the site were a clan temple, then probably the strongest candidate would be a clan temple of the Abe. They were very powerful at this period, and there is a temple associated with them nearby that also follows the so-called Hōryūji plan. That temple is relatively small, and yet it seems to show that the plan was associated with this clan. And, as noted above, one of the supervisors mentioned in the 642 *Daianji engi* account of the building of Kudara Ōdera was Abe no Kurahashi Maro, a prominent member of the clan.[166]

As should be evident by now, I am convinced that the Kibi Pond site is, most probably, the initial location for Jomei's Kudara Ōdera. Naturally, some doubts remain and reasonable caution is certainly appropriate. At this stage, however, the burden of proof would seem to fall on those who wish to designate the site as something other than Kudara Ōdera. The enormous scale of the remains and the chronology of the tiles are persuasive in associating it with Jomei and Kōgyoku, and until contrary evidence appears Kudara Ōdera seems to be the most plausible candidate. In addition, Kudara Ōdera has successors, to which we need now turn our attention.

Takechi Ōdera

Generally speaking, I intend to proceed in a chronological manner in this volume, but in this chapter it is necessary to skip ahead because of the complex history of Kudara Ōdera and its successors. This narrative can be diffi-

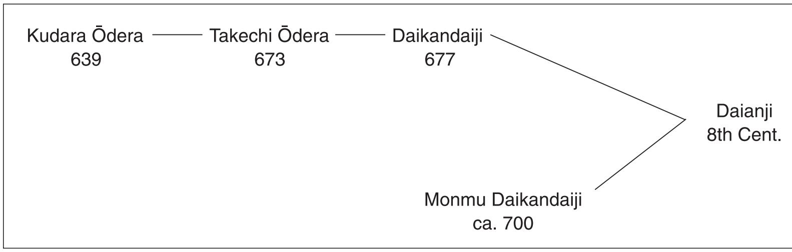


Fig. 2.28. Developmental sequence, Kudara Ōdera to Daianji

cult to follow since so many factors are unclear or, in some cases, unknown; inevitably, a certain amount of speculation is required, and all we can do is strive to construct a logical and coherent hypothesis on the basis of the available data. Perhaps it would be useful to summarize the key arguments in this section and the next, "Two Daikandaiji and Heijōkyō Daianji," before examining the details.

The sequence of temples, as recorded in the textual sources, can be seen in figure 2.28. As discussed above, *Nihon shoki* and *Daianji engi* describe in some detail Jomei's vow to build a great temple as well as the efforts of his spouse and successor, Kōgkyoku, in furthering the project. Until recently this temple, Kudara Ōdera, remained only a textual abstraction, but with the 1997–2001 excavations at Kibi Pond most scholars concluded that the site is in fact that of the temple vowed by Jomei. The present study accepts this identification. If the Kibi Pond remains are not recognized as the site of Kudara Ōdera, then we are back to square one, dealing only with textual evidence.

Both *Nihon shoki* and *Daianji engi* record that in 673 Kudara Ōdera was transferred to Takechi, where it became Takechi Ōdera, and *Daianji engi* further states that the temple was renamed Daikandaiji in 677. At present there is no definitive theory concerning the actual location of Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji, but it seems to me that its existence is incontrovertible, given the consistency of the documentary evidence, to be discussed below.

The site of what is here referred to as "Monmu Daikandaiji" has been extensively excavated, with results that relate closely to textual references in *Shoku Nihongi*, so it is fair to say that there is no doubt about its identification. The crucial problem is the relationship between Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji and Monmu Daikandaiji. Prior to the excavations at Kibi Pond, I believe most scholars simply elided Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji with Monmu Daikandaiji, conflating them simply as the Daikandaiji known from the excavations. However, a closer look at the textual sources strongly suggests that Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji was an independent temple, the successor to Kudara Ōdera, which preceded the great temple

constructed by Monmu and Genmei during the first decade of the eighth century.

It is true that as yet no traces of a Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji site have been found, but we should keep in mind that before the excavations at Kibi Pond, the same was true for Kudara Ōdera. In fact, wide areas in the Asuka-Fujiwara basin have not been archaeologically investigated, and since striking new finds emerge every season, it is certainly possible that a site for the mysterious Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji will be discovered. A significant factor, to be treated in "Two Daikandaiji and Heijōkyō Daianji," is the positioning of Monmu Daikandaiji precisely within the grid structure of the new Fujiwara capital, a placement that necessarily would preclude a 673 date for its establishment. Combined with the textual references from around 700 and the style of the roof tiles, this permits a rather specific dating of Monmu Daikandaiji. At the earliest it is around the middle of the 690s, but more likely it is at the end of the decade.

Daianji, the great eighth-century temple in Nara, still exists as a living temple, although without the numerous buildings and icons that it once had. The Conclusion to this book will discuss in some detail the issue of the "transfer" of temples from the Asuka-Fujiwara region to the new capital, Heijōkyō; here we need keep in mind only that the textual sources are clear that Heijōkyō Daianji is the successor to Fujiwarakyō Daikandaiji. Of course, given the hypothesis above, that there were two Daikandaiji in Fujiwarakyō — Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji, a fully functioning temple, and Monmu Daikandaiji, a temple apparently under construction — we must ask just what was "transferred" to Heijōkyō in the early Nara period. I will argue in the "Icons" section of this chapter that there is a distinct possibility that the famous dry-lacquer icon documented at Daianji, but now lost, may have come from Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji rather than from Monmu Daikandaiji, given the facts that Monmu Daikandaiji was probably never completed and seems to have burned down in 711. I will put forth this hypothesis with less confidence than some other hypotheses, but even if this idea is not accepted, that factor would not affect the sequence of temples from Kudara Ōdera to Daianji postulated above.

The Jinshin Disturbance, discussed in Chapter 4, occurred in 672, with Tenmu triumphing and immediately returning to the Asuka region. In the following year, 673, the documentation states that Kudara Ōdera was moved to Takechi and renamed Takechi Ōdera. *Nihon shoki* gives the names of two officials appointed to supervise the construction as Mino no ōkimi, of *shoshi* rank, and Ki no omi Katamaro, of lower *shokin* rank, while *Daianji engi* provides variant characters for Mino.[167] Of course the location of this site is presently unknown, but the usual assumption is that, as a key temple, it was moved closer to where Tenmu had his court around the same

time he was constructing the Asuka Kiyomihara Palace. Another theory is that Tenmu's motivation may have been related to the death anniversaries of his parents, Jomei's thirty-third and Saimei's thirteenth, suggesting that he was thereby honoring his father and mother.[168] Needless to say, both theories could be correct.

Then, in 677, Takechi Ōdera was renamed Daikandaiji.[169] This is a rather peculiar name for a temple (Great Official Great Temple) but can perhaps be associated with the major transformations of government undertaken at this period. A *mokkan* was recently discovered at Asuka Pond associated with the mid-670s and inscribed with the characters for "emperor" (*tennō*).[170] While the origins of the title *tennō* cannot be discussed here, this *mokkan* is its earliest documented occurrence, and this might suggest that the royal title and the name of the temple are related in character, probably reflecting the development of new terminology in these years.[171] Furthermore, there is a possibility that the two components of the temple name, "Daikan" and "daiji" (= ōdera) are linked to comparable designations in the Tang capital, Chang'an.[172]

The name Daikandaiji does not appear in *Nihon shoki* until 682, in an entry stating that more than 140 people entered the Buddhist order at the temple.[173] I should make clear once more that in the following sentences "Daikandaiji" refers to the "Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji" temple, not the later Monmu Daikandaiji, which is discussed in the next section.

The sickness and death of Tenmu will be discussed in later chapters, so here only certain details need to be noted. According to *Daianji engi*, Prince Kusakabe, the crown prince, carried out ceremonies in 684 at Daikandaiji for the sake of his father.[174] Many other related ceremonies occurring in 685–686 are recorded in *Nihon shoki*. Particularly interesting is the vowing of an image of Kannon Bodhisattva and the chanting of the *Kanzeonkyō* at Daikandaiji on behalf of Tenmu.[175] And, as an indication of the extraordinary status of the temple, we read that in 686 it was awarded 700 households and 300,000 bales of rice.[176] During her reign Jitō was also a strong supporter of Daikandaiji, and *Daianji engi* records that she had a bell made for the temple. Work was said to have been done in 692, supervised by the abbot, Esei hōshi. At present the earliest extant temple bell is that of Myōshinji, cast in 698, and we may suggest that the two bells were related in form.[177]

All of this activity clearly demonstrates that Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji was a crucially important temple during the Tenmu and Jitō reigns. But where was it? The location question is closely related to the location question about Kudara Ōdera, so some repetition is inevitable here. Starting in this argument from the premise that the Kibi Pond site is Kudara Ōdera, we must examine a variety of theories concerning Takechi Ōdera. Since it is well established that the Kibi Pond site is located in ancient Tōchigun, the

transfer of the temple to Takechigun implies a move to the west, closer to the central area of Asuka; as a consequence, all proposals assume a location west of Kaguyama.

Kidera, more properly Koyama haiji, has been put forward as a candidate primarily because of its central location. Although it has a plan associated with official temples, the argument that it is too small to be Takechi Ōdera is compelling. Furthermore, no tiles of the Kibi Pond-Kinomoto haiji lineage have been found there. Also, the fact that it is aligned with the Fujiwarakyō grid structure would place it after the 673 date of transfer.[178] Okuyama haiji has also been nominated, but the chronology of the temple does not relate well to Takechi Ōdera, since the foundations are too early, and the tiles do not relate chronologically with those we would expect at Takechi Ōdera.[179]

Ozawa Tsuyoshi, the author of the section of *Kibi Report* dealing with the location of Takechi Ōdera, has proposed a new theory suggesting the temple was located between the west side of Monmu Daikandaiji and the Asuka River. This theory is based on documentary sources, including *Daianji engi*, *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, and *Ruijū sandai kyaku*, that have entries relating to requests by Daianji to have land they claimed returned.[180] A plausible argument can be made that this land is located in the area; the problem, however, is that no traces of either early tiles or temple foundations have been discovered, although as yet relatively little excavation has been carried out. In fact, some tiles associated with Monmu Daikandaiji have been found at a site in this area near Ikazuchi Hill, but these tiles relate to Daianji, not to the earlier phase with which we are concerned.[181]

None of the suggestions as to the location of Takechi Ōdera are without problems, but on balance Kinomoto haiji seems the least problematic candidate. The association of Kibi Pond and Kinomoto haiji is based on the identity of the excavated tiles, both of the round eave-end and flat eave-end types. There is some ambiguity as to the geographical status of this area, as it is on the border of Tōchigun and Takechigun, and it is difficult to determine the exact boundaries in antiquity although in later periods it was a part of Tōchigun. If it was, in fact, Tōchigun, that would present obvious problems as to the Takechigun identification.

An even more serious problem is the failure to locate a temple site despite the extensive excavations carried out between 1985 and 1987. Kinoshita Masashi has argued that after the transfer of the capital to Heijō, perhaps the site previously used as the temple was changed into governmental offices, thereby accounting for the failure to detect temple remains.[182]

On balance, we must acknowledge the lack of any really convincing hypothesis as to the location of Takechi Ōdera — that it did exist is certain and that it was probably located near Tenmu's palace is very likely, but beyond that we can only speculate. The problem is similar to that of the loca-

tion of Kudara Ōdera prior to the excavation of Kibi Pond, and I believe it unlikely that any definitive conclusions will be possible unless a specific site is discovered. For the moment all we can do is suspend judgment and hope for new archaeological evidence.

Two Daikandaiji and Heijōkyō Daianji

Daianji engi reports that a nine-story pagoda and a golden hall were built during the Monmu era and also a sixteen-foot icon was vowed.[183] This type of entry is perhaps not entirely convincing, but several entries in the more reliable *Shoku Nihongi* undoubtedly refer to activities during the Monmu reign (697–707). In 701 priests and nuns were gathered at "Daianji" to be lectured about the "rules for priests and nuns" (*sōni ryō*); presumably Daianji refers to the Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji, since it is unlikely that work on the Monmu temple could have proceeded to a stage where such assemblies could be held.[184] An entry of the next month, however, appears to relate directly to the construction of the new temple, for here we learn of offices to manage the construction of "Daianji" and Yakushiji.[185] Then, a little more than a year later, a high official, Takahashi Kasama, is appointed to the office to construct "Daianji."[186]

These entries must surely be interpreted as indicating work on Monmu Daikandaiji in the early 700s. There is a hypothetical possibility that they are associated with continued work on Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji, but this is highly unlikely for several reasons: the grounds of Monmu Daikandaiji fit perfectly into the Fujiwarakyō grid system (*jōbō*); pottery found under the golden hall is of the Fujiwarakyō period; and the roof tiles of this temple are of a later type than those of either Yakushiji or Fujiwarakyō (fig. 2.29).[187] Consequently, there can be little doubt that two sites existed around 700, the fully functioning Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji and the new temple undertaken by Monmu.

Planning of Fujiwarakyō began early in the Tenmu era, and the laying out of the grid structure must have been done by at least 680. Some time after that year construction on the capital and palace commenced, first under Tenmu and then continuing under Jitō, who finally was able to move into the new palace in 694. These matters will be discussed in Chapter 4, so here we need only note that palace and capital were created on a very large scale. I assume that plans for a new Daikandaiji under Monmu were intended to produce a temple of grandeur equal to that of the capital in which it was placed. Ōwaki offers a convincing explanation as to why work on the new temple did not begin until around the end of the century, speculating that perhaps Jitō was extremely busy with the construction of Yakushiji and only after that temple was "largely complete" in 698 could major effort be devoted to Monmu Daikandaiji.[188] More specific information relating



Fig. 2.29. Daikandaiji tiles

to the new temple is also available. In a 699 entry, *Fusō ryakki* tells of work on the nine-story pagoda and also states that 500 people became priests at the temple. Another source, *Genkō shakusho*, provides a slightly different account, stating that in 698: "They built the pagoda of Daikanji and 500 people entered the Buddhist order." While *Fusō ryakki* and *Genkō shakusho* are not entirely reliable, the *Shoku Nihongi* 701.7.27 entry cited above also refers to "Building the pagoda office" so evidently work on the new pagoda either began or was continuing in that year.[189]

Two important entries in *Fusō ryakki* provide information about the final stages of Monmu Daikandaiji and the transfer of the temple to Heijōkyō. With regard to the transfer, it states in an entry of Wadō 3 (710) that "Daikandaiji was moved to Heijōkyō." Then, in the following year, Wadō 4 (711), we read: "Daikandaiji and other temples as well as the Fujiwara Palace were destroyed by fire."[190] There is controversy as to when Daikandaiji and the other temples, such as Asukadera and Yakushiji, were transferred to the new capital, although the 710 date seems a little early, at least for the physical transfer; perhaps the abbot of Daikandaiji moved to Heijō to oversee the transfer process. The second entry is more significant for our history; since there is no evidence of fire destruction at Fujiwara Palace, we might be doubtful about the veracity of the entire entry, but the excavations of the Monmu Daikandaiji site display clear indications of such a fire. This is a crucial detail because other records tell of the trans-

fer of icons from "Daikandaiji" to Daianji in Heijōkyō. Obviously, if the Fujiwarakyō temple had gone up in flames, the survival of large-scale icons would be doubtful; however, by assuming the continued existence of the Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji, we can readily imagine that the icons were transferred from that temple.[191]

The site of what we have been calling Monmu Daikandaiji, just to the south of Kaguyama, was recognized in the Edo period on the basis of two mounds, and fortunately measured sketches were made of the large, exposed foundation stones. I say "fortunately" because in a disgraceful travesty, these stones were taken in 1889 (Meiji 22) and reused for the construction of Kashiharajingu! Nabunken carried out nine campaigns between 1973 and 1982, resulting in a comprehensive understanding of the site that will serve as the basis for the following discussion.[192]

A village subsection (*koaza*) related to one of the mounds is named "Kōdō," leading to the logical assumption it was, in fact, the site of the lecture hall. On the basis of the early plan and what remained of the cavities where the foundation stones had been placed, a hall of nine bays by four bays was proposed. The other mound, to the southeast, was clearly the pagoda because of its square shape. Confusion about the identity of the first nine-bay by four-bay structure was eliminated when further excavation to the north revealed a second building of the same dimensions, appropriately located for a lecture hall, thereby demonstrating that the structure in front was the golden hall. Placement of a pagoda to the southeast of the golden hall would lead to an unbalanced composition if there was no structure to the southwest, yet when the archaeologists dug in this area, nothing was found. The roofed corridor and the middle gate were located; the roofed corridor abutted the east and west sides of the golden hall, but also continued north, enclosing the lecture hall (fig. 2.30).

Two possibilities for temple arrangement have been proposed: the Kawaradera plan, with the same placement of golden hall intersected by roofed corridor, a pagoda to the southeast, and, as in Kawaradera, a west golden hall to the southwest (see Chapter 3), or the Yakushiji plan, with both an east and a west pagoda located in front of the golden hall (see Chapter 4). The assumption behind these two hypotheses is that the empty area would later be filled with either a west golden hall or a west pagoda. On balance, the Yakushiji plan seems more satisfactory, given that Daianji in Heijōkyō had two very large pagodas in front of the golden hall. Of course, it is impossible to achieve a definitive solution on the basis of the present evidence.

The Daikandaiji golden hall was an enormous structure, 54.6 m × 30.1 m, with a platform about 1.7 m high (fig. 2.7); only the nine-bay by five-bay Great Buddha hall (Daibutsuden) of Tōdaiji had greater dimensions.[193] Appropriately monumental foundation stones and columns were utilized,

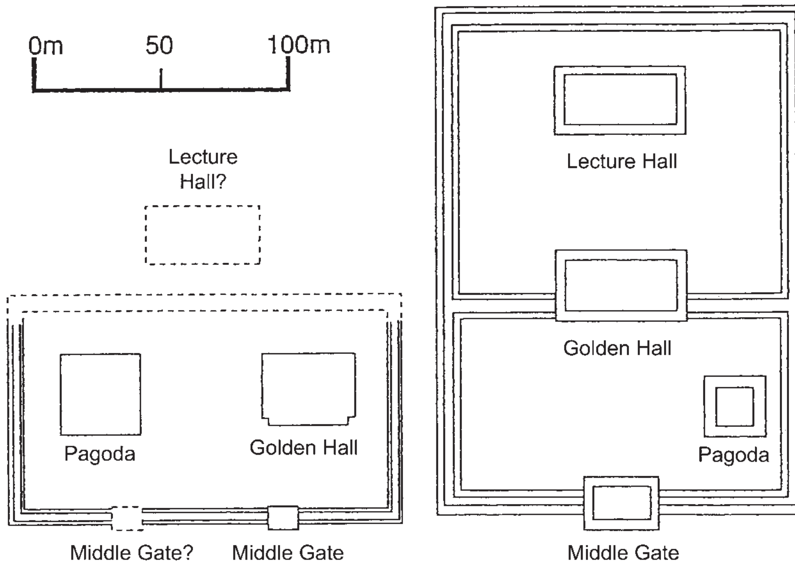


Fig. 2.30. Comparative plans: Kudara Ōdera (left), Monmu Daikandaiji (right)

the seating for the former approximately 116 cm in diameter, the columns themselves only slightly smaller. During the fire the roof eaves collapsed, leaving distinct traces in the ground that permit a quite detailed reconstruction of the original configuration. Additionally, metal objects, including eave-end decoration and roof bells and round eave-end tiles (fig. 2.29) were discovered.[194] Apparently the main icon was a large-scale triad, but current evidence allows little more to be said.

As a five-bay by five-bay structure, the pagoda was also grandiose, with a platform about 24 m sq and 2 m high, substantial enough to accommodate a tall structure (figs. 2.10, 2.11).[195] Comparing again to the Tōdaiji pagodas, more than 100 m tall, the somewhat smaller Daikandaiji base would be ample for one approaching 100 m, truly an exceptional scale for this early period. The heart stone was 3.6 m × 3 m, placed in a hole 5.6 m × 5.4 m wide and 1 m deep; in fact, the heart stone was so large that there was apparently no space to situate the foundation stones for the usual four bracing columns, so the assumption is that some other arrangement was employed.[196]

In the burned-earth area around the base of the pagoda, artifacts such as metal corner plaques and bells similar to those excavated at the golden hall were found, as well as flat eave-end roof tiles and fragments of plastered walls, both painted red. Somewhat surprisingly, facing for the platform was not located, suggesting that while the pagoda structure was complete, the lower section was still unfinished at the time of the fire.[197] Drawing together the information implying the pagoda was begun around 699, Ōwaki

concluded that it was still incomplete in 711, some twelve years later; if this theory can be accepted, perhaps we have some rough indication of the time and effort required for such a grand structure.[198]

No traces of the middle gate were visible on the surface, but excavation revealed a five-bay by three-bay structure, with dimensions of 31.6 m × 20.7 m, apparently with two stories (fig. 2.19). Evidence of fire was also found around this gate. Since the excavators were unable to find remains of a south gate, they suggested that work on this structure had not started at the time of the 711 fire. Various sections of the roofed corridor (8.4 m wide) were discovered, making it possible to determine its overall dimensions: 144 m east-west and 197 m north-south.[199] The roofed corridor at the Kibi Pond temple was slightly wider at 156.2 m, but because the north side of the roofed corridor has not been located, it has been impossible to determine the length in the north-south direction; presumably it was less than the 197 m of Daikandaiji, because while Daikandaiji had a plan (within the roofed corridor) that was a vertical rectangle, the Kibi Pond temple must have had a horizontal orientation.

As we saw, the lecture hall at Daikandaiji had virtually the same dimensions as the golden hall, a rather unusual situation. Frequently the lecture hall is built after other structures are completed, yet here there was evidence for the dressing of the platform, indicating that the structure was finished. Ōwaki suggests that this early completion may have been so the priests and nuns could gather here for the reading of the *sōni ryō* in 701, something that seems unlikely in my view, as noted above.[200]

Later we will consider the continued existences of the Four Great Temples in both Fujiwarakyō and Heijōkyō, but here we need mention only what happened with Kudara Ōdera-Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji and Monmu Daikandaiji. Two factors are of key significance: the certainty that Monmu Daikandaiji was destroyed by fire in 711, and that the main icon of Kudara Ōdera-Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji was moved to Daianji in Heijōkyō. Since a temple without a main icon must be thought of as lacking its raison d'etre, we must suspect that the first Daikandaiji was abandoned, and its place taken by the grand new Daianji.

Generally speaking, in this book I do not treat the Nara-period histories of the Four Great Temples, but the situation in the case of Daianji is somewhat different since there are still so many unresolved issues in regard to the temple sequence. For that reason, some consideration will be given to the status of Daianji in the Conclusion.

Icons

We assume, given the scale of Kudara Ōdera, that it would have been provided with a full complement of impressive images suitable for the first

royal temple. Nothing remains of such images, but documentary sources provide some tantalizing clues. Work apparently progressed on the temple during the 640s, but no information is available concerning the making of icons during that decade; certainly, it is likely that such work would have started in tandem with the architecture, given the supreme importance of the main icon of any temple.

Regarding the first icons, *Nihon shoki* tells us that in 650 work began on an embroidered icon, clearly one of quite complex iconography, including a sixteen-foot buddha with flanking bodhisattvas, the eight demigods, and other deities for a total of thirty-six figures.[201] Then, in the next year, *Nihon shoki* states that the sixteen-foot embroidered icon was complete (651.3.14), and on the following day the empress dowager invited the Ten Teachers to a vegetarian feast.[202] From the context it appears that the empress dowager — Kōgyoku — vowed the icon in 650 and celebrated its installation in 651. She had earlier promised her dying husband Jomei that she would continue work on his Kudara Ōdera, so this must have been one component of the overall project.

The *Nihon shoki* narrative is confirmed in *Daianji engi*, where we read about three extremely large embroidered icons, the first two *jō*, two *shaku*, seven *sun* high by two *jō*, two *shaku*, four *sun* wide; the others each two *jō* high by one *jō* eight *shaku* wide.[203] I am doubtful that such very large embroideries could have been completed in just one year, a problem that unfortunately cannot be solved here. In any case, the first of the three is described as having the flanking bodhisattvas, the eight demigods, and so on, for the total of thirty-six figures, which corresponds to the *Nihon shoki* iconography. No indication is given in the text as to the identities of the deities in the smaller embroideries — perhaps the ensemble of thirty-six figures was spread over the three — and yet the text seems quite specific about the thirty-six being all on the larger embroidery.[204]

Daianji engi says that these were vowed by En'chi, a name for Saimei but if, in fact, the date of 650 is correct, the donor should be Kōgyoku, since 650–651 precedes her second reign as Saimei by several years. On the other hand, if the name actually refers to Saimei (Kōgyoku in her second reign), that would indicate the period 655–661. Although this suggestion is highly speculative, it would reconcile the positions of Kumagai and Ōhashi, since the embroidered icons then could have been enshrined in the lecture hall, presumably completed after 655.

Two sources, *Daianji engi* and *Fusō ryakki*, refer to donations by Tenji.[205] *Fusō ryakki* records that in 668 Tenji installed a sixteen-foot image of Shaka and various other images in Kudara Ōdera, without specifying the halls; *Daianji engi* refers to his donation of a number of images made of dry lacquer, including two sixteen-foot dry-lacquer images and a set of the four guardian kings, also dry lacquer. Scholars have argued that "*two*

sixteen-foot images" is illogical and suggest that it would be more natural to assume he donated only one.[206] This would lead to a coherent group of a sixteen-foot Buddha surrounded by equally monumental guardian kings. Given its size. this group may have been for the golden hall, although there is no direct evidence to demonstrate this theory. The year 668 is, of course, at about the time Tenji was moving the capital from Asuka to Ōtsu, so perhaps this lavish donation was in particular honor of his late mother, Saimei.

When Kudara Ōdera was transferred to Takechi, becoming Takechi Ōdera, the full complement of icons must also have been moved to the new site. In the preceding sections we discussed the Takechi Ōdera (673) and Daikandaiji (677) manifestations of our temple and then the separate, new Monmu Daikandaiji, begun around 700.

Daianji engi states that Monmu vowed to build a nine-story pagoda and a golden hall and make a sixteen-foot icon.[207] As we saw, this temple and icon were distinct from the Kudara Ōdera, Takechi Ōdera, Daikandaiji sequence, so when Monmu's Daikandaiji was destroyed by fire any icons housed in the temple would also presumably have been lost. That two Daikandaiji were in existence simultaneously is significant, for a famous statement by Ōe no Chikamichi in his travel diary asserts that the dry-lacquer main icon of Daianji is as beautiful as the Yakushiji Yakushi triad.[208] The well-known Yakushiji Yakushi triad is generally considered as one of the greatest of all Buddhist sculptures, rendering Chikamichi's comment about the Daianji image extraordinarily high praise. We cannot be certain as to where the Daianji dry-lacquer image came from, but rather than Monmu Daikandaiji, I wonder if it may have been the one made for either Kudara Ōdera or Takechi Ōdera. If that was the case, the ensemble donated by Tenji in 668 would have most likely included it, given the development of Japanese Buddhist sculpture at the time.

There is no indication that Tenmu added anything when he had the temple transferred from Kudara to Takechi, but presumably by that time there was already a full complement of icons. Nevertheless, it seems evident that the production (or at least conception) of icons continued through the reigns of Jomei, Kōgyoku, Saimei, and Tenji. Significantly, no efforts either with regard to architecture or imagery is attributed to Kōtoku, suggesting that the temple was always patronized by the family of Jomei and Kōgyoku-Saimei, Tenji donating important icons and Tenmu moving the entire temple closer to his palace in 673.

Conclusion

Interpretation of the Kibi Pond site — almost certainly the remains of Kudara Ōdera — must be made in the context of those monumental East

Asian temples of the sixth and seventh centuries specifically associated with royal patronage. By this I refer not to general royal support of temple construction, a frequent occurrence, but rather to a direct campaign to build a temple serving the immediate ideological needs of the ruling house. Such temples were of vast scale, provided with towering pagodas, extremely large halls with magnificent icons, and staffed by numerous priests to perform the appropriate state-centered rituals.

The earliest archaeologically confirmed evidence is the unparalleled late Northern Wei temple, Yongningsi, built in the ancient capital, Luoyang.[209] Dedicated by Empress Dowager Ling in 516, this temple, documented in Yang Xuanzhi's *Luoyang qielanji*, was excavated in 1979–1981 and 1994; significantly, the remains by and large related closely to Yang's description, thereby confirming the basic accuracy of his account.[210] Most impressive, of course, was the extraordinary nine-story pagoda, said to be more than 160 m tall, which hovered over the capital to remind the populace of the piety and power of the monarch; certainly, as the highest structure in the city it would have been an awe-inspiring sight.[211] Tragically, the great pagoda was destroyed by fire in 534, and we can well imagine the sorrow this evoked, at least at court. Perhaps those familiar with Buddhist thought saw this as a sign of impermanence, a basic element of Buddhism.

Quite recently Chinese archaeologists have excavated the foundations of a large-scale, wooden pagoda in Lingzhang County, Handan City, Hebei Province, near the Eastern Wei-Northern Qi capital of Ye.[212] The remains of the pagoda's foundations, located about 200 m southwest of a small hamlet in Lingzhang County called Zhaopengcheng village, appear to date to the late Eastern Wei or Northern Qi dynasty (550–577). With a platform approximately 30 m sq, the pagoda can be placed directly in the context of the East Asian monumental pagodas we are concerned with here. Particularly significant is the fact that the Zhaopengcheng pagoda fills the gap between Yongningsi of the Northern Wei period and the pagodas on the Korean peninsula in the Paekche and Silla kingdoms, which leads to a more reasonable chronology from China to the Korean peninsula and on to Yamato.

Linkage between very large temples and the royal families continued on the Korean peninsula. Paekche was famous for the temple Mirŭksa, established by King Mu (600–641) at Iksan.[213] When it was founded is unclear although Best suggests that it may have been after 624 when King Mu had successfully conquered several Silla fortresses and expanded his kingdom into an area that had previously been Kaya territory, controlled for some time by Silla.[214] Possibly he was considering moving his capital south from Sabi (modern Puyŏ) to the Iksan area, an action that would explain the considerable expenditure for a very large temple. *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) contains a miraculous account of the rea-

sons why King Mu and his wife established Mirŭksa, but more important in the present context is the fact that archaeological excavations revealed that the temple plan followed the description in *Samguk sagi* (Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms).[215] The temple consisted of three pagodas and three golden halls placed on an east-west axis, each in its own compound, with the lecture hall and other structures behind, to the north, the whole compound enclosed by a roofed corridor approximately 155 m × 175 m. While the east and west pagodas were masonry buildings (the west pagoda partially survives), the much larger central pagoda was a nine-story, wooden structure. Given this format, the platform, at only 18.5 m sq, seems a little small to support a nine-story building, although it appears likely that the Paekche pagoda was constructed in a manner different than the other examples. Best argues that King Mu modeled himself after the Sui monarch Emperor Wen in that he combined great military victories with a pro-Buddhist policy, the latter resulting in the construction of several large temples.[216] This is an important observation, for it suggests that King Mu was looking not back to the Wei dynasties for inspiration but to the contemporaneous Sui state, and it is certainly possible that the other monumental pagodas we will consider fall within the same context.

Hwangnyongsa, the state temple of Silla, was especially grand, with grounds 285 m sq. Like Mirŭksa, it had three compounds, the central one containing the nine-story pagoda. Work began on the temple in 553, and there were several subsequent reconstructions and additions. Exactly when and under what auspices the nine-story pagoda was built remains uncertain. Central to the standard narrative is the famous Silla monk Chajang, who went to study in China, returning in 643. According to an inscription on a pillar of the pagoda, Chajang was told by the Chinese monk Yuanxiang that if a nine-story pagoda was erected at Hwangnyongsa, Silla would triumph over other kingdoms. When he returned home, Chajang related this prophecy to Queen Sŏndŏk, who ordered the building of just such a pagoda. The text further states that the building was undertaken by a Paekche master craftsman, Abiji, with 200 craftsmen supervised by a Silla nobleman, Ikan Yongch'un.[217]

While it is recorded that Queen Sŏndŏk ordered the construction in 645 and that it was finished in 646, this appears to be an impossibly short time for such a monumental structure. Rather, it seems likely that work may have begun prior to Chajang's return to Silla. Generally speaking, relations between Silla and Paekche were quite bad during the later 630s and early 640s, making it rather difficult to understand how a Paekche master craftsman such as Abiji could have been summoned to the Silla capital. Best suggests that as a result of Chajang's statements, Queen Sŏndŏk sent rich gifts to the Paekche monarch, King Ŭija, to persuade him to send Abiji to work on the pagoda.[218] However, I believe work may have begun in the late

630s or very early 640s, since the 645–646 chronology is impossibly short for such a major commission.

The pagoda had a platform that was about 32 m sq, ample for a full-scale, nine-story pagoda of wood. Significantly, *Samguk yusa* also states that Abiji was summoned to supervise the construction of the Hwangnyongsa pagoda, which suggests that while masonry construction techniques were well developed in Silla, an outside specialist was required for the enormous wooden pagoda. Perhaps the relevant technical knowledge was transmitted from China to Paekche and, just as probably, from Paekche to Yamato. The Hwangnyongsa pagoda was approximately 80 m tall in a seven-bay format, each bay having a width of approximately 10.5 *shaku* (about 3.15 m). The specific relationship of this temple, especially its pagoda, with the royal family places it directly within the ideological context under discussion.[219]

Technical details about the Kudara Ōdera pagoda presented above need not be repeated since what we are concerned with here are broader symbolical and ideological factors. It is worth repeating, however, that the Kibi Pond excavations have, potentially, significant implications for general conceptions of mid-seventh-century Yamato history, architecture, and Buddhism, for they indicate, apparently, a higher degree of development than had previously been thought possible. I, like many scholars, had grave doubts about the accuracy of the *Nihon shoki* and *Daianji engi* accounts of the nine-story pagoda of Kudara Ōdera, for I was operating on the assumption that this detail, like many others, was added to the texts in the eighth century to magnify the importance of the monarch.[220] While at that stage in scholarship it seemed more plausible to assume knowledge of textual descriptions of a grand nine-story pagoda rather than the existence of an actual building, the Kibi Pond excavations require a total rethinking of the situation from a number of perspectives.

Archaeological results, especially the scale of the pagoda platform and the sheer size of the heart stone cavity, indicate unequivocally that we are dealing with foundations entirely suitable for the type of structure mentioned in the documents. While the ultimate prototype can be located in China, as is ordinarily the case during this period, the direct source is more likely to have been the Korean peninsula. In addition to the simple existence of relevant structures in Paekche and Silla, two details seem to me especially significant. The discussion of Asukadera offered a detailed analysis of the craftsmen who were summoned from Paekche to Yamato to work on this, the first proper temple in the country, which indicates the very high level of architectural knowledge and skill in that kingdom. A sense of this ability is further reinforced by the detail of Abiji being called to Silla to work on its nine-story pagoda. A second important issue is the general similarity of the Hwangnyongsa and Kibi Pond pagodas; their platforms are approximately the same size, and the Silla temple's seven-bay ground

plan offers the best prototype for the Kudara Ōdera pagoda inasmuch as it can be reconstructed on the basis of present evidence. When Abiji went to Silla, he had obviously had considerable experience in building monumental wood structures such as a nine-story pagoda, so even though no such building remains in Paekche, examples certainly must have existed in the past, now lost, as is so much Korean art and architecture.[221]

Combining the possible activities of Abiji and the tentative date of construction of the Hwangnyongsa nine-story pagoda yields a plausible, albeit hypothetical, chronology for the Kudara Ōdera pagoda. Whenever Abiji went to Silla, he certainly would have been no beginner; presumably he had been practicing his profession for many years. Possibly he had unique skills, although it seems more likely that at least a few others possessed similar skills and knowledge. Just such an individual must have been summoned after Jomei's 639 vow, since it is highly unlikely the required knowledge would have been available at such an early date in Yamato. Bringing these factors together, I suggest that the Hwangnyongsa nine-story pagoda may be the proximate source for that of Kudara Ōdera, especially if the Hwangnyongsa pagoda was conceived in the late 630s. In any event, both probably reflect technology available in Paekche at least by the later 630s.

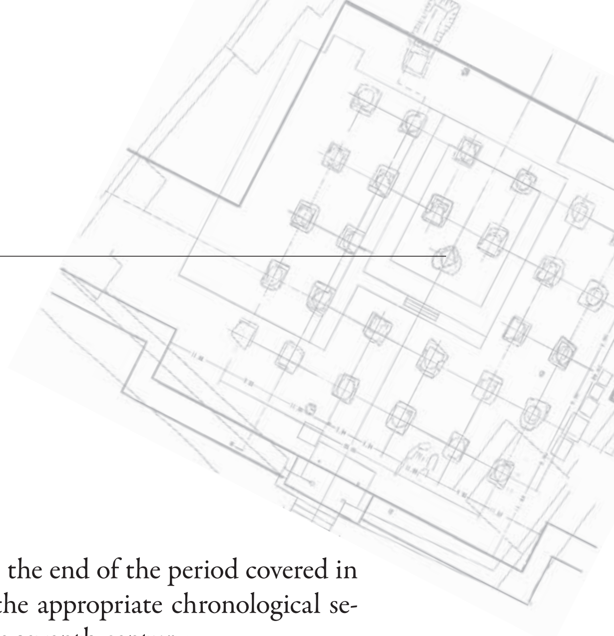
Evidently there was specific knowledge of the significance of the nine-story pagoda in Yamato during the seventh century. While the exact vehicle of transmission is uncertain, most probably it was conveyed by priests and travelers from the islands who had visited China and Korea and also perhaps by textual accounts. Since the Yongningsi pagoda was destroyed by fire in 534, there is little likelihood that it had any direct impact on Yamato a hundred years later, although we can imagine that memory of this glorious structure lingered on in the Chinese temples visited by student priests from the Japanese islands. If the conception of Hwangnyongsa's pagoda is as early as suggested, it may possibly have been a direct precedent, although it would not be prudent to push this point too hard. At the very least, however, it clearly reflects the same ideology. Also, I suspect that there were large-scale wooden pagodas in Paekche in addition to the one at Mirŭksa, which visitors from Yamato could have seen. Certainly there was a critical mass of information that served as a motivation for Jomei and his advisors to contemplate such a vast building project. We recall that Soga-Paekche contacts were extremely close during the Asuka period, so it is possible that Soga intermediaries brought skilled craftsmen to Yamato.[222]

What are the broader historical implications of the Kudara Ōdera project? The construction of Asukadera by Soga no Umako constituted a beginning of temple-building at a very high level of architectural accomplishment, although obviously Asukadera pales in comparison to Jomei's temple.[223] In that regard there would seem to have been an increase in royal power towards the middle decades of the seventh century. While this pro-

cess is usually associated with the so-called Taika Reform of 645, is it not significant that an overwhelmingly ambitious temple on the scale of Kudara Ōdera was undertaken prior to the traditional conception about a shift in political power at mid-century? With it we see a level of both ideological sophistication and technical skill that relates, in my view, to joint efforts of the Soga and the royal court. In Chapters 3 and 4 we will study Kawaradera and Yakushiji, two temples built under royal patronage but without an enormous, nine-story pagoda; for such a structure to appear again, we must wait for the work on Monmu Daikandaiji during the first decade of the eighth century. The scale of Monmu Daikandaiji, and its careful placement within the grid structure of Fujiwarakyō, clearly exemplify the full development of the relationship between monarch and nine-story pagoda; that it was destroyed by fire prior to completion does not detract from its fundamental symbolic meaning. It does, however, provide a poignant reflection of the destruction of Yongningsi some 177 years previously, again reminding us of the Buddhist ideas concerning the ephemeral nature of all existence.

Chapter Three

KAWARADERA



CHAPTER 2 CARRIED the narrative to the end of the period covered in this book, but here we must return to the appropriate chronological sequence, moving back to the middle of the seventh century.

Historical Introduction

When Kōtoku died in 654, he was succeeded by Princess Takara, who reigned for a second time as Saimei (ca. 654–661). Although Kōtoku had built a large-scale palace at Naniwa, Saimei reestablished the "capital" in Asuka; the transition from palace to capital is vague, although the so-called Wa capital may represent the incipient developments leading to a greater differentiation of palace and bureaucratic structures. The palaces within this complex, including the Asuka Okamoto, Itabuki, Later Asuka Okamoto, and Kiyomihara palaces, were occupied subsequently by her sons, Tenji and Tenmu, and by Jitō, Tenmu's consort. At one time it was thought that all of these palaces were in separate locations, but the research of Ozawa Tsuyoshi has convincingly demonstrated that they were, in fact, all in essentially the same place.[1] As a more centralized government structure was developing, it would have been inconvenient for officials to be constantly moving from one place to the next; consequently, it is now believed that their residences and "offices" were clustered around one central area within which the various palaces are thought to have been built.

Saimei emerges as an interesting historical figure, apparently one having broad religious beliefs. During her first reign, as Kōgyoku, she was active in carrying out the project begun by her husband, Jomei, to build Kudara Ōdera. Documentary sources indicate her general support of Buddhism, although a specific great temple initiated by her is not recorded. The range of her beliefs can be illustrated by a recently uncovered turtle-shaped basin, apparently part of a ritual site involving water. This discovery created a sensation in the media and subsequently has become one of the main tourist

attractions in Asuka. The turtle element is located at the base of a low hill, evidently related to a larger complex, especially the well-known Sakabune ishi at the top of the hill. Continuing excavations have revealed a solidly constructed stone wall that straddles the middle of the hill, and it is this wall that can be most plausibly be related to Saimei on the basis of an entry in *Nihon shoki*. Interpretation of this extraordinary ritual complex is difficult and it is only mentioned here to give a sense of the diversity that characterizes the religious situation at the middle of the seventh century; certainly any assumptions that Buddhism was the only influential religion are patently false.[2]

The "Historical Introduction" to Chapter 2 offered a brief account of the transition from the reign of Jomei to that of Kōgyoku, but perhaps a little bit more needs to be said here about this crucial epoch. In traditional historiography, Kōgyoku's reign is seen mostly in terms of the developments that led to the destruction of the Jōgū line (643), the killing of Soga no Emishi and his son Iruka (645), the abdication of Kōgyoku herself (645), and then the enthronement of Kōtoku (645) and the promulgation of the Taika Reform (646). From my perspective, more important than the so-called Taika Reform was the destruction of the main line of the Soga clan, for with this event we witness substantial changes in the political arena: before, the Soga were dominant; after, power shifted to other hands. In this regard, I have been suggesting that the construction of Kudara Ōdera should not be seen as implying conflict between the Soga clan and the royal line, but more likely as a sign of cooperation. As we saw in Chapter 2, the round eave-end tiles (*noki marugawara*) of the Soga temple Yamadadera are essentially identical to those of Kudara Ōdera, certainly an indication of friendly relations in the first years of the 640s.

All of this changes with the anti-Soga coup of ca. 645. A new faction, led by Prince Naka (Naka no ōe ōji), a son of Jomei and Kōgyoku, and Nakatomi no Kamatari, seized the reins of government, thereby terminating control by the main line of the Soga. "Main line" must be stressed, since the conspirators had to enlist the assistance of other important Soga figures, especially Soga Kurayamada Ishikawa Maro, to accomplish their goals. As a reward for his treachery, Ishikawa Maro was appointed to the highest position in government, Minister of the Left. He got what he deserved when he was accused of treason in 649 and forced to commit suicide, but then his reputation was rehabilitated a few days later when it was realized that the accusation was a "mistake"! Not coincidentally, in my view, the leader of the Abe clan, the Minister of the Right, managed to die a week after Ishikawa Maro, putatively of natural causes but more likely by poison or other foul play. The stage was now cleared of most of the players in the previous regime, and the new cast had the opportunity to forge their own administration.[3]

During the 640s and 650s critical political developments were taking place in China and on the Korean peninsula. The Three Kingdoms — Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla — were constantly at war with each other in various combinations, and the peninsula as a whole was threatened by the powerful Tang state, the greatest empire of the time. Normally, Paekche and Koguryŏ would be allied against Silla, while Silla sought the support of Tang; the Yamato state had close connections with Paekche.[4] The wars on the peninsula at this time clearly were seen as a challenge to the Yamato leadership during the reign of Saimei.

The end of Saimei's reign was marked by a last, futile effort on the part of Yamato to aid its ally, Paekche, which was now fatally threatened by a Tang-Silla alliance. In this campaign, Saimei moved to Kyushu early in 661 with her sons Prince Naka and Prince Ōama and others in order to direct her forces from closer headquarters. This was not to be, however, as Saimei died in the seventh month, leaving the direction of activities to Prince Naka, who presumably already was deeply involved in the campaign. Perhaps if she had lived, the battle results would have been different, but in the end the Japanese fleet was disastrously defeated in the important battle at Paek River.[5]

Saimei's funerary observances were held at the Kawara Palace in Asuka. Here a *mogari no miya* was constructed for the ceremonies in the eleventh month of 661. As we shall discuss in a moment, it is likely that this location subsequently became the site of Kawaradera.[6]

Prince Naka succeeded his mother at her death in 661, but did not ascend the throne as Tenji until 668. This lengthy interregnum has long puzzled historians, who have advanced various explanations including the suggestion that he wished to have the freedom to organize defenses against any potential attacks from across the sea. This theory has considerable merit in that Tenji's predecessors — Suiko, Jomei, Kōgyoku-Saimei, and probably Kōtoku — may have been more active in priestly and ritual functions than in the political realm. Certainly the available evidence indicates that significant changes in government began during the years 661–671 when Tenji was in control. Caution with regard to invasions was certainly appropriate and in response to this need Prince Naka took a number of steps, especially the building of defensive positions in strategic locations. Particularly important was the move in 668 to Ōtsu on the west shore of Lake Biwa.[7] This place was probably chosen because of its rather remote location, surrounded by mountains that offered greater security than did either Asuka or Naniwa. Be that as it may, in the end no military campaigns were necessary.

Prior to moving from Asuka to Ōtsu, Tenji appears to have pledged Kawaradera in memory of his late mother. As will be discussed in a moment, little documentary evidence is available for this temple, but on balance the Tenji-Saimei connections seems most reasonable.

A new palace was constructed at the Ōtsu capital, and there was also considerable activity in temple-building. The speed with which the palace and temples were erected was much more rapid than was normal during the seventh century, although in the case of the temples in and around Ōtsu the archaeological evidence suggests that most were built on the sites of previously existing structures. A quite vibrant intellectual life seems to have emerged at the Ōtsu court, in part the result of greater familiarity with Chinese civilization; certainly the level of literacy was much higher than during the first half of the seventh century. Despite all of his accomplishments, however, Tenji failed to achieve one goal that must have been close to his heart, since it was his intention to have a son, Prince Ōtomo (Ōtomo no ōji), succeed as monarch. This led to a bitter struggle, referred to as the Jinshin Disturbance (Jinshin no ran), which pitted the prince against his uncle, Prince Ōama, the younger brother of Tenji. In the end, Prince Ōama triumphed, defeating Ōtomo decisively, and then, in 672, he moved the capital back to Asuka where he soon ascended the throne as Tenmu. We will consider this sequence of events in Chapter 4.

Kawaradera and Its Architecture

The excavations of the Kawaradera site and the reconstruction of its surface layout make it possible to visualize reasonably well the original plan of the temple (figs. 3.1, 3.2, 3.3).[8] This plan has several important features, including the presence of two golden halls with a single pagoda and extensive residential quarters for the monks at back. Here we note for the first time a rather complex plan in which the architects experimented with a distinctly asymmetrical arrangement of buildings. The degree to which that layout was ultimately thought to be satisfactory remains unclear, and yet it was evidently favored to the extent that it was utilized at other sites throughout Japan.[9] In any case, the large scale of Kawaradera indicates that it was one of the key temples of seventh-century Japan.

Given the importance of Kawaradera, it is somewhat surprising that no convincing records exist as to the date of and reasons for its establishment. In fact, in studying the Four Great Temples we are surprised that *only* in the case of Kawaradera are documentary sources totally lacking as to when, why, and by whom it was founded and what the process of construction was. Kawaradera was extremely important during the 680s, which makes it even more puzzling that documentation is lacking, especially as it was involved in so many important rituals connected with the court. Mayuzumi Hiromichi has proposed an ingenious resolution to this problem: he argues that Fujiwara Fuhito wished, in connection with the transfer of the capital to Heijō, to place his family temple, Kōfukuji, into the Four Great Temples category, and this necessitated elimination of one of the original four. In

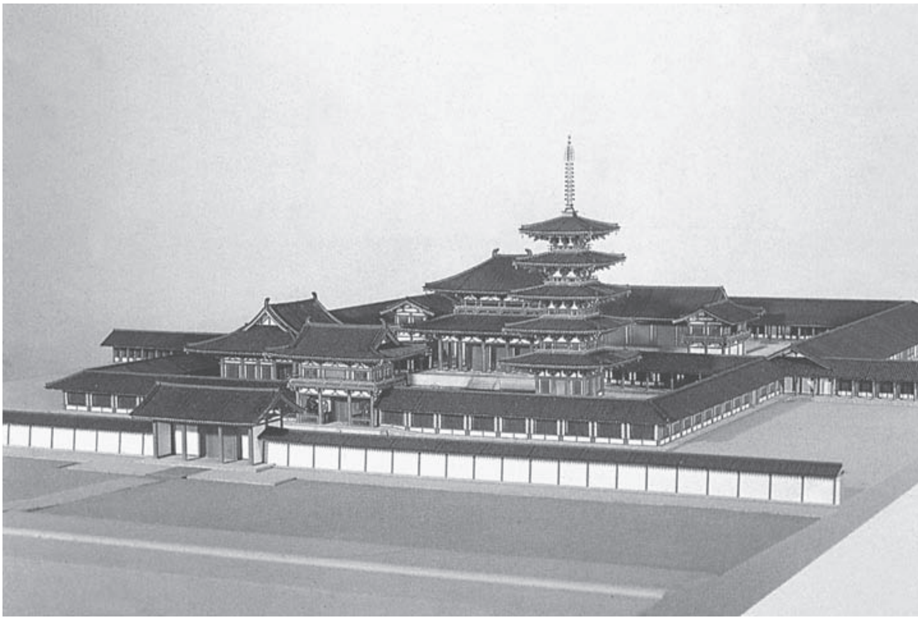


Fig. 3.1. Reconstruction of the temple

comparison with Asukadera, Daikandaiji, and Yakushiji, Mayuzumi suggests, Kawaradera would have been easier to remove from the group, but he acknowledges that problems would still remain; therefore, he hypothesizes that Fuhito was able to eliminate the documentary evidence related to Kawaradera from that used to compile *Nihon shoki*.[10] Another interpretative strategy is to simply assume that records in *Nihon shoki* are simply incomplete. Certainly, further study of *Nihon shoki* is necessary in order to formulate a general hypothesis as to the nature of its compilation and the criteria for inclusion or exclusion of specific details.[11] Of course, other sources are sometimes available although *Nihon shoki* is usually primary.

Many possibilities have been proposed for the date of establishment of Kawaradera, ranging from the implausible (for example, 584 or 794) to a number of more likely dates clustered in the middle of the seventh century. Later the grounds for these hypotheses will be examined, but here I would like to focus on the most plausible suggestion. The available archaeological evidence, including the form of the roof tiles, the plan, and the sculptural remains, indicates a date of foundation relatively early in the second half of the seventh century. This evidence strongly suggests a relationship with Saimei, the consort of Jomei and twice monarch, as we have seen. Since she went to Kyushu in 661.1 and died there in 661.7, the possibility of Kawaradera having been established during these months is highly unlikely, given that her *mogari no miya* was constructed at the Kawara palace in 661.11. No evidence suggests that a *mogari no miya* could be at a temple, so it is

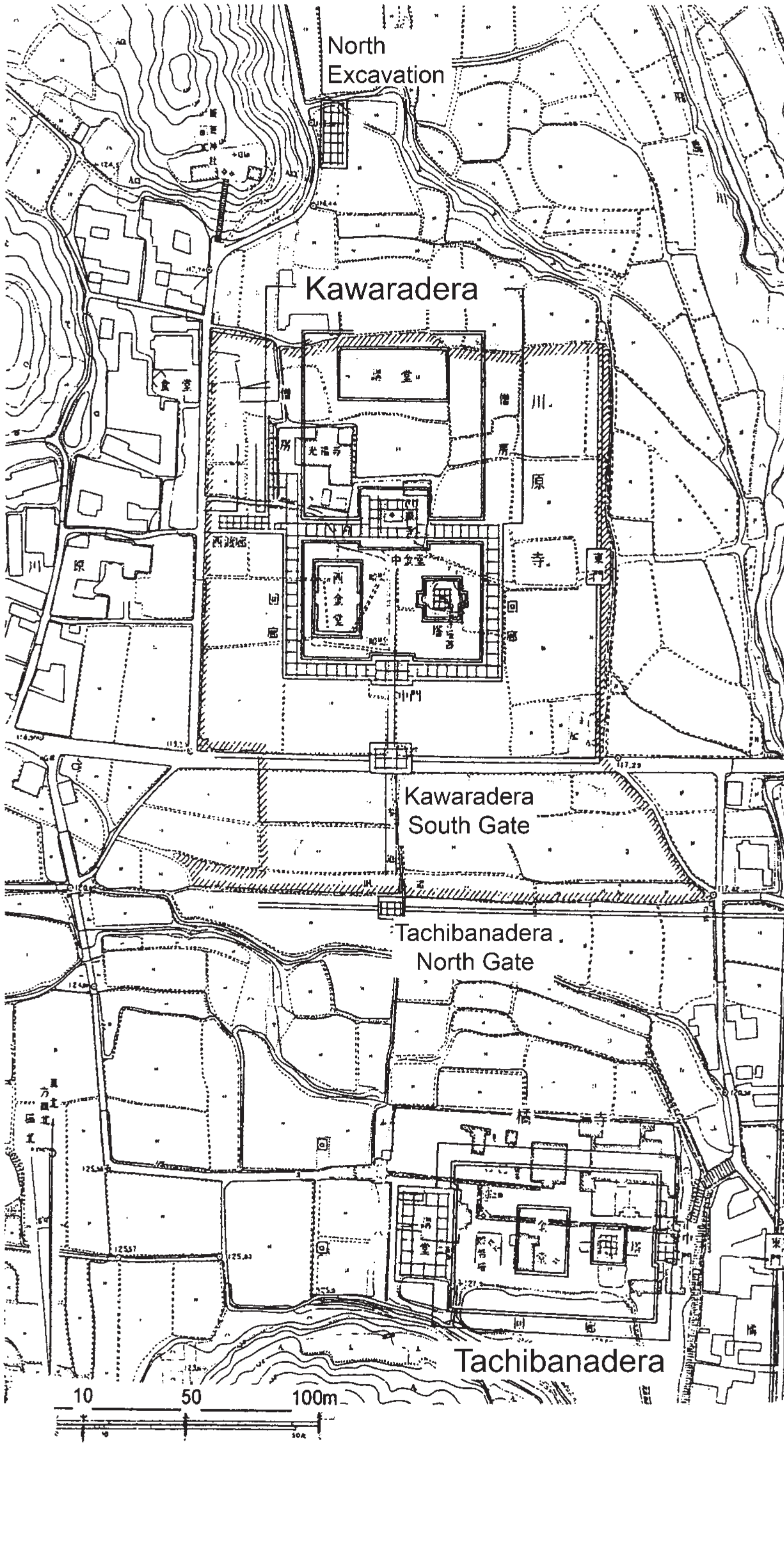


Fig. 3.2. Overall plan with Tachibanadera

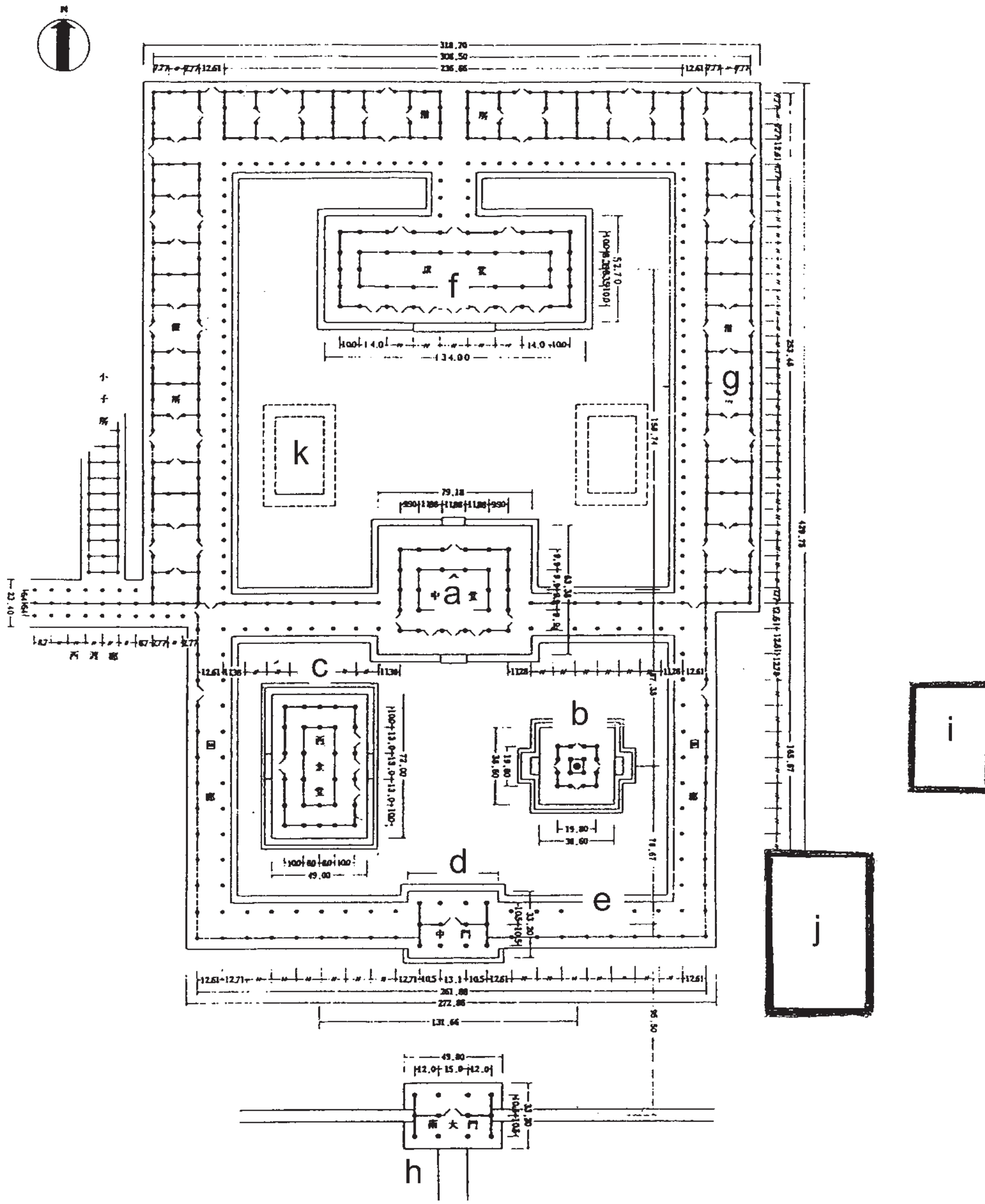


Fig. 3.3. Temple plan: a. middle golden hall, b. pagoda, c. west golden hall, d. middle gate, e. roofed corridor, f. lecture hall, g. priests' quarters, h. south gate and paved path, i. east gate, j. southeast hall, k. bell tower or sutra hall

likely that Kawaradera was built after the funerary rituals were over. Several temples in Ōtsu with Kawaradera-style tiles are thought to have been important during the period that Tenji had his court at Ōtsu (667–671); a logical assumption is that Kawaradera was started early in the Tenji reign, prior to the move to Ōtsu. Later we will discuss the possibility that Kawaradera was founded as a memorial to Saimei, begun by one son, Tenji, and completed by a younger son, Tenmu.

Perhaps the single most striking feature of Kawaradera is the plan (fig. 3.3). It is highly significant that each of the Four Great Temples had a different plan; those of Asukadera and Kudara Ōdera have been discussed, while Yakushiji had an arrangement with two pagodas situated in front of the golden hall, to its southeast and southwest. Let us therefore look more carefully at the plan of Kawaradera. There is a south gate located about 12 m in front of the middle gate; the roofed corridor extends out from the middle gate in the usual manner. Enclosed within the roofed corridor are the west golden hall to the left and the pagoda to the right, an arrangement opposite to that noted at Kibi Pond. Moreover, this golden hall and pagoda face each other, rather than being oriented to the south; of course, the north-south axis is affirmed by the middle golden hall being placed directly to the north of the south gate and the middle gate. The middle golden hall is embedded in the north section of the roofed corridor rather than being enclosed by it. Extending back from the north roofed corridor is a second, large roofed corridor-like structure containing the priests' quarters. In the center of this zone is the lecture hall, and the archaeologists have recently located a bell tower or scripture hall there. In a sense, the entire complex is divided into two components: the more public ritual structures at the front and the private structures at the back, the two apparently linked by the middle golden hall, which opens to both the south and north. The number of cells is rather large, indicating that there were a substantial number of priests active at this temple from the beginning.

No specific information is available as to the construction process of Kawaradera. The only clue is a *Nihon shoki* entry of 673.3 that states that scribes (*tekaki*)[12] began to copy the entire Buddhist canon (*Issaikyō*) at Kawaradera at that time; such activity strongly suggests that by this year enough of the temple had been completed to allow such important activities to be carried out.[13] Utilizing Ōhashi's methodology, discussed in Chapter 1, concerning temple-construction chronology, if Kawaradera was begun in the early 660s, some ten years later a substantial portion could have been built. Further evidence, however, indicates that in 673 the temple was not finished: *Shinshō kyaku choku fushō*: *Jifūbu* states that in the same year Kawaradera was awarded 500 households, presumably to provide funds for additional construction.[14]

Historiography

Kawaradera is the most prominent temple of the period for which no significant documentation exists and so, not surprisingly, this lacuna has encouraged scholars to put forward a wide range of hypotheses, some reasonable, others entirely untenable. Naturally, suggestions were made long before the 1960 excavations, of which thirteen are cited in the *Report*.[15] Subsequently, Mayuzumi Hiromichi and Ōwaki Kiyoshi presented brief summaries and analyses of this material, and the following draws heavily on their work.[16] Both scholars deal with eight possibilities for the year of founding, ranging from 584 to 774, but their lists are not entirely congruent:

1. 584: Texts, such as *Shoji engi shū*, *Shoji konryū shidai*, and *Nanto shichidaiji junrei ki* state that the temple was established by the Soga Ōomi, Umako, in Bidatsu 13 (584).2. On the basis of the plan and the typology of the tiles, such an early date is clearly impossible, and Fukuyama has suggested that this is a mistake resulting from the placing of the Ishikawa temple account in the Kawaradera entry. Mayuzumi (59) argues that the reason this date was given to Kawaradera is that the royal family wished to have a temple associated with their patronage at a date as early as the Soga Asukadera. While speculative, this suggestion is plausible since clearly the royal house was striving to indicate its strong connections with Buddhism from the inception.
2. Prior to 653: *Nihon shoki*, Hakuchi 4 (653).6, reports the court's mourning for the priest Min and states: "They made Buddhist images and installed them in Kawaradera," followed by a parenthetical comment in the text: "One book says this was Yamadadera." The fact that the compilers of *Nihon shoki* cite two sources indicates that there were different theories at the time of compilation. It seems very doubtful that this can be regarded as a historical record related to Kawaradera, although several earlier scholars accepted it.
3. 655: *Fusō ryakki* states that because the Asuka Itabuki Palace burned down in 655.10, Saimei moved to the Kawara Palace, which subsequently became Kawaradera; *Genkō shakusho* gives the same basic details. Saimei then moved to the Okamoto Palace in 656, so it would have been possible on principle to have converted a palace into a temple after she moved. However, Mayuzumi (59) indicates that the equivalent entry in *Nihon shoki* refers only to a palace, with no mention of a temple.[17] Of course, Jomei is said to have built both a palace and a temple on the banks of the Kudara River, so there is a precedent for the two being constructed simultaneously. Another argument against this hypothesis, as noted above, is the fact that after Saimei's death in 661, a *mogari no miya* was erected at Kawara

and there seem to be no instances of such a structure being built at a temple.

4. 661: *Tōdaiji yōroku*, a Kamakura text, says that Kawaradera became a branch temple of Tōdaiji. The text further states: "The temple was built in the seventh year of Saimei's reign," placing it in Shiki no kami gun and associating it with the priest Gyōki. As Mayuzumi (59–60) points out, the temple was actually in Takechigun, and since Gyōki was not born until 668, he could have had nothing to do with the temple in 661; Mayuzumi also mentions that the diary of the courtier Kujō Kanezane, *Gyokuyō*, indicates that Kawaradera was a subtemple of Tōji, and so the association with Tōdaiji may have been a mistake. Finally, because Saimei went to Kyushu in the first month of 661 and died there in the seventh month of the same year, it seems unlikely that a temple would have been vowed at that time.
5. Tenji reign: Although Prince Naka did not ascend the throne until 668, he seems to have been in control from the time of his mother's death in 661 until his own death in 671. Consequently, this seems the most plausible date of vowing. Fukuyama further refined this date by arguing that the foundation and early construction must have been before Prince Naka moved to Ōtsu. The roof tiles found at the Kawaradera site are considerably more complex in design than those of Yamadadera and Kudara Ōdera, which are of the late Asuka period, and yet less complex than those of Yakushiji and Fujiwarakyō, which are of the early 680s, demonstrating, along with the novel plan, that a Tenji date is likely.
6. Prior to 673: Since we know that the copying of sutras took place in 673 at Kawaradera, we can assume that a substantial amount of building must have been completed by that time, which suggests that temple must have been founded well before that year. Most scholars accept this hypothesis today, but it only provides the latest date and does not establish a precise year for the vowing.
7. 686: Although this possibility is found in *Fusō ryakki*, where it is stated that the emperor built Gufukuji, it is contradicted by other dates in the same text. Mayuzumi (60) speculates that since the official Buddhist name is given here, rather than the more usual geographical designation, perhaps this entry confuses the founding of the temple with the fixing of the names of temples that Tenmu ordered in 679.[18] *Kōbō Daishi goikō* and *Mizu kagami* also refer to the Tenmu reign, but as noted in item (6), by the beginning of Tenmu's reign substantial work seems to have been completed at the temple, so this reign would seem to be too late for the foundation.
8. 774: This date, which is contradicted by all other sources, is found

> in *Shōtoku Taishi den kokon mokuroku shō*, where it is stated that Kōnin tennō dedicated the temple. Since this date is so implausibly late, scholars have tended to dismiss it without further thought, but Mayuzumi (60), who consistently seeks an explanation for each theory, suggests that since Kōnin was a descendent from the Tenji rather than the Tenmu line, the association with Kawaradera may have resulted from this fact.[19]

Recitation of all of these hypotheses, while perhaps somewhat tedious, does give us a good sense of the range of possibilities that can appear in the case of a highly important temple such as Kawaradera. Surely this wide variation speaks to the great interest in establishing when the temple was founded and provides important evidence for some of the strategies utilized by early authors to write history in a manner that follows their ideological inclinations.

I believe it most likely that Kawaradera was dedicated to the memory of Saimei, and that work was begun by Tenji and completed by Tenmu. Activity associated with Tenmu was particularly noticeable there from 685.[20] In the eighth month of that year Tenmu is recorded in *Nihon shoki* as making two significant temple visits: on the twelfth day of the eighth month he visited Jōdoji (= Yamadadera) and the next day he went to Kawaradera. Although work on Yamadadera had started in 641, there was a long gap after the "suicide" of Kurayamada Ishikawa Maro in 649, and building only recommenced in the 670s, under the sponsorship of consorts of Tenji who were of the Soga line. *Hōō teisetsu uragaki* states that the eye-opening ceremony of the sixteen-foot (*jōroku*) buddha of the lecture hall took place in 685.3.25, suggesting that Yamadadera was then largely complete; furthermore, it seems likely that Tenmu's visit was in order to see the splendid buddha and the rest of the temple.[21] Although there is no specific evidence for why Tenmu went to Kawaradera the next day, I suspect that this, too, was motivated by the completion of the temple.

During the next month Tenmu became sick, and a *Nihon shoki* entry (685.9.24) states that Buddhist scriptures were read for three days at Daikandaiji, Kawaradera, and Asukadera; the three temples were then rewarded with grants of rice. These readings may have had a temporary benefit, but Tenmu died in the next year (686.9.9). On the hundredth day (686.12.19) after his death, a great ceremony was held at five temples: Daikandaiji, Kawaradera, and Asukadera as before, and also at Toyuradera and Sakatadera. These various ceremonies indicate the high status for the court of Kawaradera, along with two other of the Four Great Temples, Daikandaiji and Asukadera.[22] (The reason why Yakushiji is not mentioned in the *Nihon shoki* entry is discussed in Chapter 4.)

One other feature sharply differentiates Kawaradera from the other

three great temples: it was the only one not transferred to the new capital, Heijōkyō, after 710. Why this was the case is not at all clear, although various explanations have been offered. As yet the process (or concept) of "transfer" is incompletely understood, but it is certainly evident in the cases of Asukadera and Yakushiji that a functioning temple remained in the Asuka-Fujiwarakyō area after the move to Heijōkyō. In the case of Kawaradera, possibly the court still viewed the old capital as important, since ceremonies are recorded as taking place there in the Nara period and later. Some scholars have suggested that when the Fujiwara clan temple, Kōfukuji, became the fourth in the Heijō list of Four Great Temples, Kawaradera was left off to provide a space for the replacement. An additional suggestion is that Kawaradera owned so much property and was so rich that the temple authorities may have been reluctant to leave their home base. Finally, if Kawaradera was specifically conceived of as a memorial chapel for Saimei, perhaps it would have been viewed as inappropriate to move it away from the original location.[23]

Buildings

Compared with the Kibi Pond site, where little is preserved, a great deal of material evidence was found during excavations of Kawaradera. Consequently, less analysis is required for Kawaradera because in most cases the archaeological data are very clear and easy to interpret. In our discussion of Asukadera, especially of the finer foundations of the middle golden hall and the pagoda, we examined many of the key elements of the *danjō zumi kidan*, so in reading this section it will be helpful to refer to the terminology presented in Chapter 1.

Middle golden hall

The foundations of the original middle golden hall (fig. 3.4) are now under the present Gufukuji main hall and a storage hall, and while there were significant problems in excavation, the archaeologists were able to determine the layout and other features of this building. It was possible to locate the usual elements of a *danjō zumi kidan*, including granite *jifuku ishi* and tuff *hame ishi*. (It is not clear if there is a *kazura ishi*.) They concluded that it was five bays by four bays at the outer wall (enclosing the *hisashi)* and three by two bays in the inner sanctum (*moya*), with overall dimensions of 23.8 m × 19.2 m, the platform being 1.5 m tall. Perhaps the most significant finding was related to the dimensions of the bay system, since in distinction to the older Komajaku (approx. 35 cm), at Kawaradera the smaller Tang *shaku* (approx. 30 cm) was used. Measured across the front and back of the structure, the proportions, in *shaku*, were 10–12–12–12–10, and at the two sides they were 10–12–12–10. These dimensions produced a

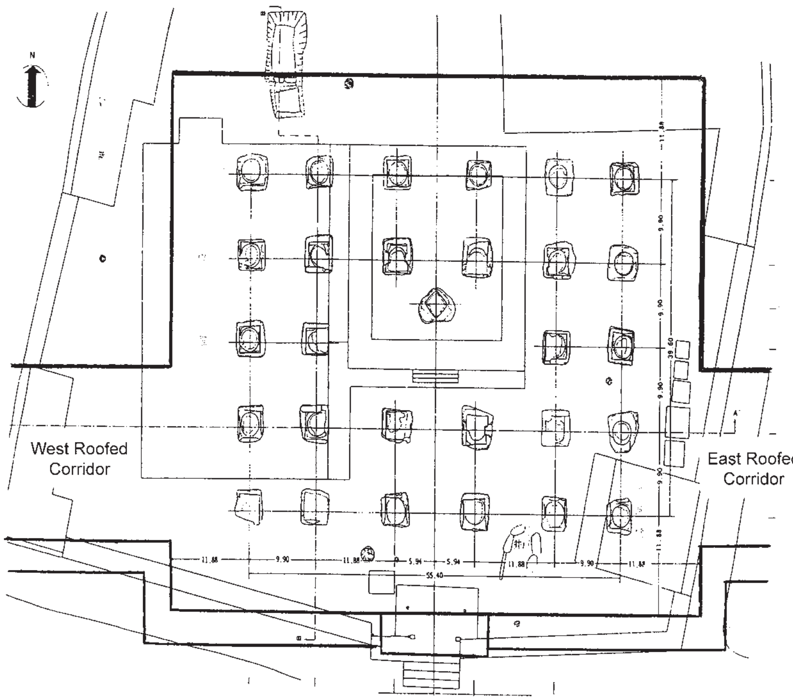


Fig. 3.4. Plan of middle golden hall

larger bay at the four corners than is seen in earlier temples, thereby allowing a more advanced bracketing system to be employed. In this case they apparently used a bracketing system where the elements projected out in three directions.[24]

Originally there were twenty-eight white column base stones of a material something like marble (*menō*), of which most have been located (fig. 3.5). These base stones are extremely famous because of their material and fine craftsmanship. Various suggestions have been made as to the source of this material, but the location has not yet been definitely determined. Each base stone is about 1.1 m sq, with a middle footing 97 cm sq, and then a shallow cavity for the round columns that is 67 cm in diameter.[25] As can be seen in the diagram (fig. 3.4), the stones are arranged in outer and inner rectangles; an inspection of the base stones for the columns of the inner sanctum (*moya*) reveals that they have grooves cut into their inner surfaces to accommodate the base boards of the *moya*; their outer surfaces are rounded as they would have been clearly visible. It is assumed that the floor of the *moya* was raised up somewhat higher than that of the *hisashi*, so in this area the inner part of the column base stones would not be visible.

At the center of the *moya* is a granite block 79 cm sq that was apparently the pedestal stone for the main icon. At present it is not known if this pedestal stone was part of the original structure, although it seems likely that



Fig. 3.5. Middle golden hall, foundation stone

it was for one of the later icons installed after the early Heian-period fire.[26] The middle golden hall was rebuilt after the fire of 1191.

Pagoda

The pagoda (figs. 3.6, 3.7) and west golden hall were generally similar in construction techniques, but they were not provided with the same column base stones found at the middle golden hall. The platform, on which the original pagoda rested, is 11.7 m sq and 1.5 m high, and was constructed in the *danjō zumi* technique, with granite *jifuku ishi* and tuff *hame ishi*, which were provided with *tsuka ishi*, with tuff as the material.[27] Because the top of the platform was generally sheared off, it was difficult to determine the elements in that area, although the archaeologists were able to locate *kazura ishi*. Both the *inubashiri* and rainwater gutters were found. A platform of this scale would allow a five-story pagoda, which seems reasonable given the general scale of the temple: the first floor of the pagoda proper is 6.3 m sq, each side with three bays.[28] Stairways were placed on the east and west sides.

As is usually the case, the heart stone was a massive block of granite, here with a shallow cavity on the upper surface, 1.03 m in diameter to accommodate the central column of the structure (fig. 3.8). Surprisingly, no cavity to contain the relics was located, although the excavators searched in all the likely places, including the sides. A variety of charms and ritual

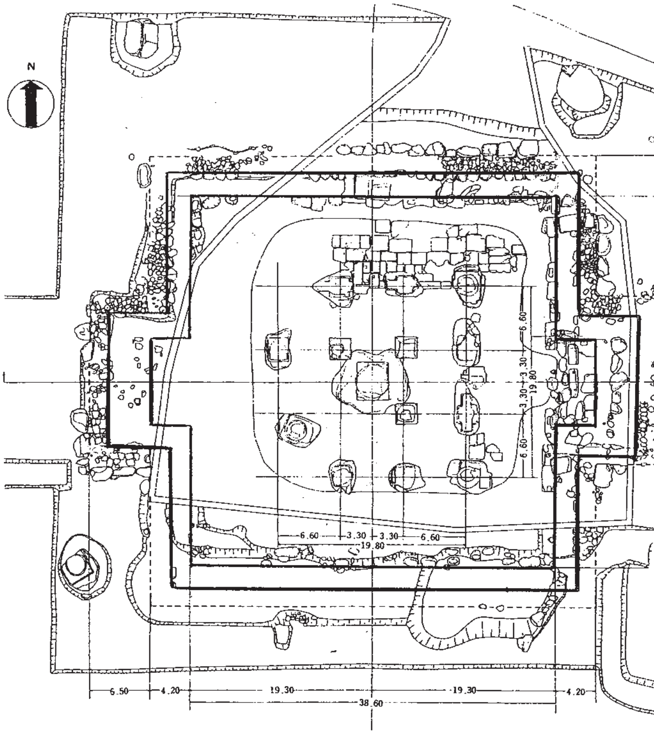


Fig. 3.6. (Left) Plan of pagoda

Fig. 3.7. (Below) Pagoda, view of foundations





Fig. 3.8. Pagoda, heart stone

objects were discovered in the area of the heart stone, however, indicating that the normal ceremonial activities were performed. The pagoda, which burned down in 1191, was subsequently rebuilt with some modifications. A later documentary source states that the rebuilt pagoda had three stories, presumably a reduction from the earlier five, based on economic factors.[29]

West golden hall

The west golden hall (figs. 3.9, 3.10) was more difficult to excavate than the pagoda, as its site had become agricultural land, and the upper surface of the foundations had been sheared off. Nevertheless, by studying the rainwater gutters and *inubashiri*, archaeologists were able to reconstruct a building of five bays by four bays, 21.8 m × 13.6 m. (Apparently some of the bays are narrower than those of the middle golden hall.) As was the case with the pagoda, this structure had staircases on the east and west sides. The *danjō zumi* construction of the platform was made up of granite *jifuku ishi*, and *hame ishi* and *kazura ishi*, both of tuff. In this section we are concerned primarily with the construction techniques and plans of specific structures, but it is interesting to note that the west side of the west golden hall was placed very close to the roofed corridor. Although the west golden hall was reconstructed after the Nara fire, there is no evidence that an effort was made to rebuild it following the disaster of 1191.[30]

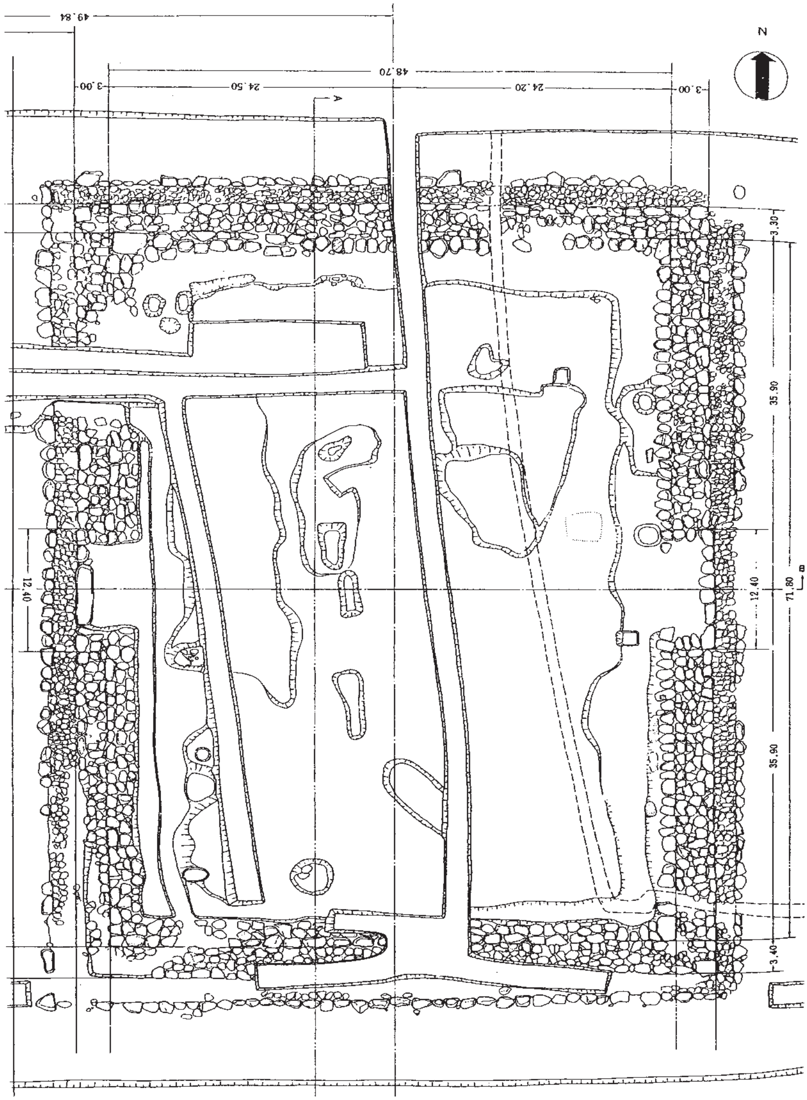


Fig. 3.9. Plan of west golden hall

Middle gate

The middle gate (fig. 3.11) also suffered substantial damage at the upper surface, causing some problems in reconstruction. However, the platform was visible, surrounded by the rainwater gutters, and seems to have been 14 m on the long side (east-west) and 10 m on the short (north-south) side. The archaeologists assume that it was a two-story gate. Since only one burnt layer was found in this area, it is probable that, like the west golden hall, the middle gate was not rebuilt after 1191.[31]



Fig. 3.10. West golden hall, view of foundations

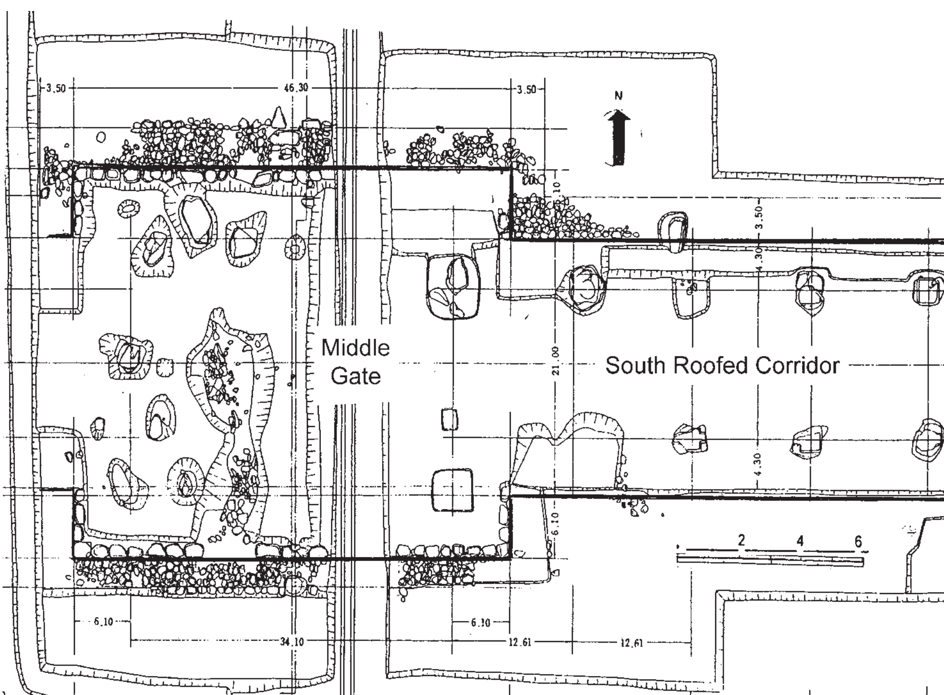


Fig. 3.11. Plan of middle gate and south roofed corridor

Roofed corridor

Although only sections of the roofed corridor (figs. 3.4, 3.11) were excavated, it seems to have been an impressive structure. It was 6.4 m wide, with only inner and outer columns; the column stones were made of granite and were approximately 60 cm sq. On the north-south axis the roofed corridor had thirteen bays, and there were sixteen bays at the front (south), excluding the middle gate. At the back (north), the roofed corridor meets the middle golden hall at that structure's east and west sides, and the columns on the front (that is, the south) side are aligned with the front of the golden hall. (Those of the back are aligned with the *moya*.)[32] Moving to the west, there is an additional section.[33]

Lecture hall

After the fire of 1191 the lecture hall (fig. 3.12) was not rebuilt, and the area it occupied was leveled at a later period; a domestic residence, surrounded by a moat, was constructed. Nevertheless, the archaeologists succeeded in locating the earth preparation (*horikomi jigyō*) and determined the dimensions of the hall as 40.5 m × 16 m. Judging from these dimensions, they assumed that the lecture hall was nine bays by four bays, with a *moya* of 7 m × 2 m, making it the standard long, narrow space. Despite these narrow proportions, the interior space would have been adequate to accommodate a large number of priests.[34]

Priests' quarters

In some respects the most interesting result of the 1956–1957 excavations was the determination of the layout of the priests' quarters (figs. 3.3, 3.12–3.13). At that time scholars thought this was the earliest example of this building type available for study, although we now know that the Kibi Pond site also had buildings that certainly look like priests' quarters. Nevertheless, the Kawaradera structures are much better preserved and, presumably, were a good deal more elaborate in form and construction. As can be seen in the plan, they continue back from the east and west roofed corridors, completely enclosing the lecture hall area on three sides (east, west, and north). At each side they are four bays in width, with the inner bay being an open extension of the inner surface of the roofed corridor. The cells proper are all three bays deep, but they vary in width: on the east and west sides they are arranged in units of three; in each case there is a central cell three bays at each side, flanked by smaller cells only two bays wide. These flanking cells open into the central one, the latter being provided with doors to the outside. The arrangement to the north is somewhat more complicated, for here we see independent, three-bay by three-bay cells at the northeast and northwest corners, a one-bay by three-bay passageway leading outside

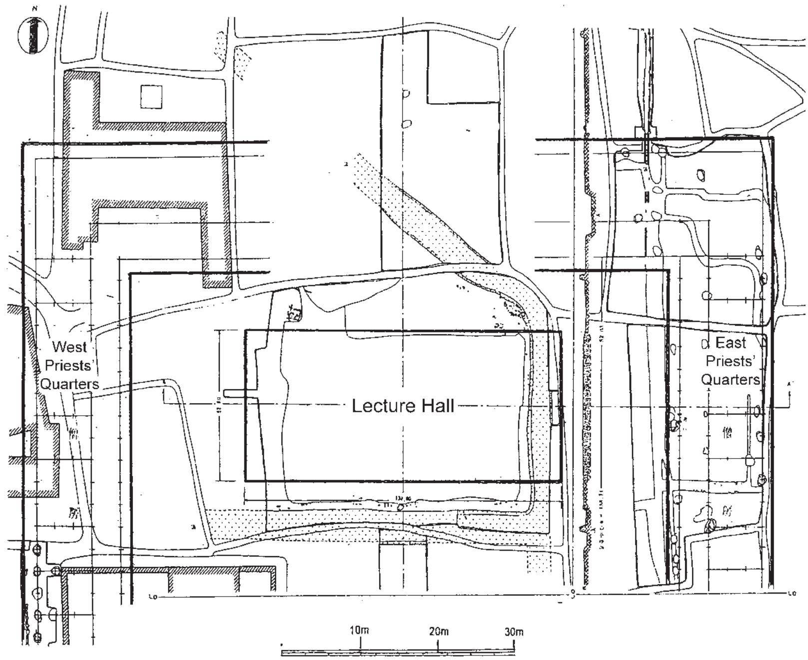


Fig. 3.12. Plan of lecture hall

and then, at either side of a central passageway, two units of the three cell system seen on the east and west sides.[35]

West of the west section of the main priests' quarters was a smaller complex of structures, presumably of the same function.

South gate and paved path

The south gate (or great south gate) (figs. 3.2, 3.3), located 95.50 *shaku* (about 30 m) south of the middle gate, was partially under the old road that runs in front of Kawaradera and was thus not well preserved. The archaeologists reconstructed it as a three-bay by two-bay gate; given the limited remains, this reconstruction seems somewhat hypothetical. It was also assumed that a roofed mud wall extended east-west from either side of the gate, then turned at a ninety-degree angle at the southeast corner to join the section which ran from the east gate.[36]

In front of the south gate were the remains of a paved pathway, the extant parts of which extended some 10–15 m to the south. It is postulated that the paved pathway ran about 50–55 m south, where it then met the north gate of Tachibanadera. Evidently this carefully calculated planning was to signify a close relationship between the two temples, even though Tachibanadera itself faced east, not the usual south.[37] (Although not directly relevant to the present study, it should be noted the east-west, axial plan of

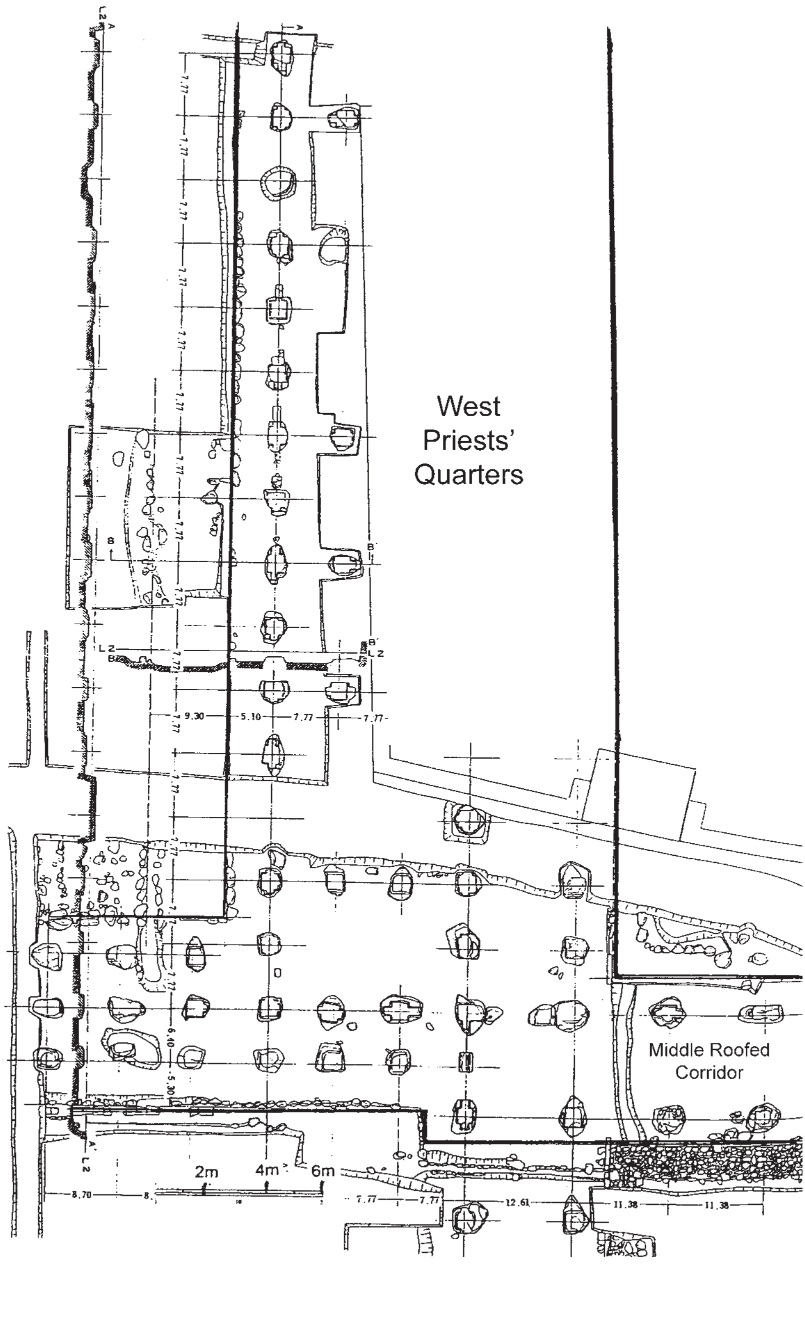


Fig. 3.13. Plan of west priests' quarters

Tachibanadera seems to have been determined by the topography, since the topography would not allow the more standard north-south orientation.)

East gate

Although the structures considered thus far were all excavated during the 1956–1957 campaigns, a later campaign in 1973 explored the east gate (fig. 3.3).[38] The location of this gate was already known to the first excavators, as it appears clearly in the ground plan in the *Report*. As with many of the other buildings, it was badly sheared off and difficult to study. Here too, however, they were able to reconstruct it as three bays by three bays, with dimensions of 15 m (east-west) and 17.7 m (north-south); in these dimensions it is larger than either the middle gate or the south gate. As will be recalled, Asukadera had, as its largest gate, the west gate, which faced the Asuka river; here we have a parallel situation, with the east gate of Kawaradera also facing the river, although in this case it may also face a palace. (Both may also have been related to an important north-south road.) Abutting this gate at either side is the roofed mud wall mentioned above, here delineating the east boundary of the temple complex.

Southeast hall

Another result of the 1973 campaign was a structure 23 m (east-west) × 26 m (north-south) (fig. 3.3); these dimensions were determined by the rainwater gutters. Mid-ninth-century pottery was discovered in the strata above the building remains so obviously the hall was constructed before that time, but how long before is unknown. In addition, the function of this building remains unclear.[39]

North sector

Excavations in 2003 revealed the north side of the roofed mud wall, about 330 m north from the south-facing section (fig. 3.2); the west side has not yet been located. The archaeologists have calculated that Kawaradera had basically the same area as Asukadera, extending from north to south three *chō*. In this area they also discovered an iron foundry.[40]

Bell tower or sutra repository

Recently Nabunken undertook excavations when the temple decided to build a new storehouse to replace an older one. In the course of removing the old structure, they discovered, through a careful examination of the earth below, the presence of very impressive column foundation stones located exactly where either a bell tower or sutra repository would be expected (fig. 3.3); moreover, the shape of the foundations is congruent with either of those building types. At this stage it is not known which it was, but it is possible that an equivalent structure will be found at the east side,

behind the middle golden hall. Few seventh-century temples were provided with these two buildings, and it seems likely that the present occurrence is the first documented in Japan.[41]

Tiles

The tiles of Kawaradera are among the most beautiful ever made in Japan (fig. 3.14).[42] In the discussion of Kibi Pond/Kudara Ōdera, we paid some attention to the development of its characteristic tile and the relationship of that tile with the well-known Yamadadera round eave-end tile (*noki marugawara*).[43] There are still significant problems concerning the chronological positions of the Kibi Pond-Kinomoto haiji tiles and the Yamadadera tiles; for the moment, it is adequate to note that this was the most up-to-date type of the period around 640. In the case of the Kawaradera round eave-end tile, the situation is clear, since the type appears to have been specifically designed for this temple; it eventually enjoyed widespread diffusion throughout the country.

In contrast to the complexity of the round eave-end tile, the flat eave-end tiles (*noki hiragawara*) are quite simple, with three deeply incised, concentric parallel grooves producing four bands. Apparently the same simple form seen in the Yamadadera tile was preferred to the elaborate honeysuckle decor that the Kibi Pond tile continued to employ. Certainly, the



Fig. 3.14. Round and flat eave-end tiles

combination of an elaborately designed round tile with the spartan simplicity of the curved tile yields a highly satisfying composition.

Here I would like to consider an important issue: what motivated the stylistic changes seen in roof tiles, especially the round eave-end tile? A study of the Chinese and Korean tiles shows that certain of the elements seen in the Kawaradera tile are already present in those areas; particularly important is the doubling of the small petals on each larger petal. This is a logical step in terms of the stylistic development of the tiles, as one moves from simplicity to greater complexity in design (Asukadera — Kibi Pond/Yamadadera — Kawaradera). Tiles from Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla show the compound petal, although not in the elegant version perfected by the Kawaradera tile makers.[44] In these prototypes, the compound leaf seems less carefully integrated into the total composition. For example, a tile from Paekche appears to be a prototype for one found at Kinugawa haiji in Shiga Prefecture; if we compare the two, the most substantial difference is the increased size of the central zone in the Japanese piece and the greater number of seeds.[45] This large central zone with many seeds is a defining feature of the Kawaradera tile.

Let us look more carefully at the Kawaradera round eave-end tile: three zones can be recognized: a central circle with seeds; petals; and a rim. The central circle is about twice as large as that of the Kibi Pond–Yamadadera tile, and instead of a single central seed framed by one ring of seeds, here there is a central seed with two concentric rings; each of the seeds has a distinct border. Because of the breadth of the central circle, the petals are proportionately much shorter than those of the earlier phase, but they are greater in relative breadth. Perhaps the most striking feature of the petals is their very strong modeling. Each petal has an emphatic central ridge, with the edges of the petal also rising, so that between each ridge and edge there is a scooped out area within which the small petal is placed, occupying most of the space. This division into segments might be interpreted as two separate petals, although that is not the case, since what I am calling the central ridge is a development from the ridge seen in the earlier tiles from Asukadera and Kibi Pond–Yamadadera. Finally, the outer rim of the tiles has an incised sawtooth or zig-zag pattern.[46]

The overall effect of the Kawaradera tile is one of considerable complexity as the eye moves over its surface. While the central circle is not very prominent in the earlier tile designs, here it is strongly emphasized as a major element, articulated with numerous seeds. The shorter petals might have been subservient to the central zone except that their very great plasticity creates an almost sculptural effect, quite distinct from center or rim. Presumably, the simple, incised zig-zag motif of the rim was designed to contrast in its linearity with the plasticity of the petals. This exacting analysis of the elements of the Kawaradera round eave-end tile is intended

to highlight the extraordinarily careful design effort it manifests; while the individual elements can be seen elsewhere, the total composition was very carefully thought out by a master craftsman.

The sort of claim for excellence of design in the Kawaradera round eave-end tile is one that I have made elsewhere in studies of small, gilt-bronze bodhisattva figures of the Hakuhō period. Many of these sculptures are roughly contemporaneous with the tiles under consideration, although obviously the two types of objects come from very different venues: sculpture from a studio producing high-cost icons, each essentially unique, and a kiln site that produced vast numbers of tiles. And yet, are they really all that different? Might it not be the case that both express the character of a flourishing period in Hakuhō art? I suggest that to call the sculpture "fine art" and the tiles "craft" does not do justice to the latter; admittedly the tiles are mass-produced, but there had to be an initial design for the crew of the kiln to work from.[47]

To my eye, the Kawaradera round eave-end tile is characterized by an elegant, balanced composition that succeeds in uniting variety into a coherent whole. Strong and yet at the same time delicate, the designer strove to produce a form that would have an immediate and direct impact on the viewer. Similar traits can be noted in Hakuhō sculpture, and in both cases these traits seem to express a sense of maturity and confidence. As one of the prime commissions of its time, Kawaradera would have been designed by the very best architects and artisans, which perhaps explains the brilliant success in the design of the round eave-end tile.

An architectural historian would not normally spend so much time and effort praising roof tiles, since his or her attention would obviously be directed primarily to other aspects of the buildings — proportions, use of space, materials, and the like. Of course scholars have produced ground plans and even models of Kawaradera, but in terms of tangible remains, what mostly survives are tiles and foundation stones. Earlier we noted that these foundation stones were among the finest ever produced in Japan, so it is reasonable to suggest that a great deal of time and wealth was expended on all components of this temple. Perhaps the time has now arrived to stop regretting the loss of these magnificent temples and make the imaginative effort necessary to recapture the original appearance in spite of the limited remains.

Just as was the case with the Kibi Pond–Yamadadera style tile, that of Kawaradera also diffused very widely throughout Japan.[48] Most relevant is its appearance at temple sites in the Ōtsu capital of Tenji, even though it was occupied for a very short period, 667–671. Most scholars date the development of the Kawaradera form to the early 660s, so the appearance of the same form in Ōtsukyō is readily understood (fig. 3.15). Particularly important is Minami Shiga haiji because its tiles have a configuration that

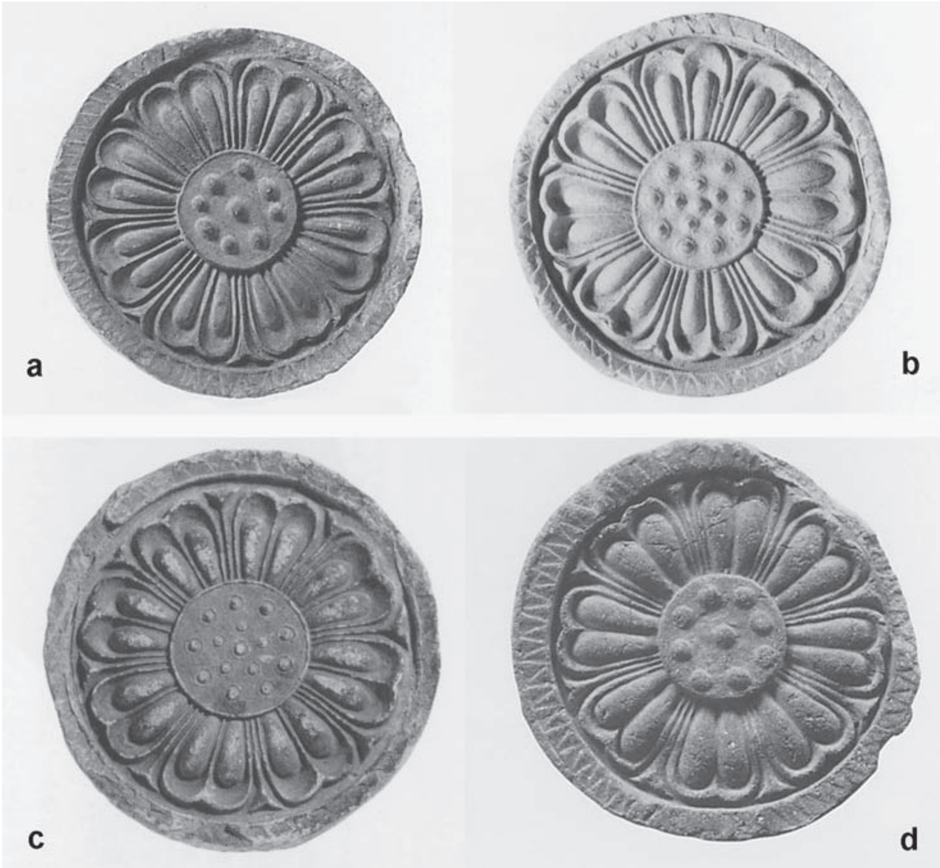


Fig. 3.15. Round eave-end tiles: a. & b. Minami Shiga haiji, c. Sūfukuji, d. Anō haiji

is essentially identical to those of Kawaradera, with the exception that the fifteen seed pods (1:5:9) are slightly smaller. This tile is also found at other Ōtsu temples, including Sūfukuji and Anō haiji.[49]

While there is no problem explaining the appearance of Kawaradera-style tiles in the Ōtsu temples, the situation is much more complicated with regard to two very important and distant temples to the west and east: Kanzeonji in Kyushu and Shimotsuke Yakushiji in the Kantō region.[50] While both had official status, this is especially clear in the case of Kanzeonji, since it was built adjacent to the government headquarters in Dazaifu in Kyushu. Shimotsuke Yakushiji was initially the clan temple of one of the most powerful families in the Kantō region, the Shimotsukenu, but it seems to have been gradually incorporated into the official network.

The history of Kanzeonji will be considered later, but the situation with the tiles is quite complicated; the earliest roof tiles found at the site date to the first half of the seventh century, indicating that an earlier temple was located there.[51] In the present context, the discovery of Kawaradera-style tiles



Fig. 3.16. Left, Kanzeonji tile: round eave-end tile (Hakuhō period); right, Shimotsuke Yakushiji tile: round eave-end tile

at the site is especially important since this indicates a direct relationship to Tenji and perhaps also with Tenmu (fig. 3.16 left). However, the number of Kawaradera tiles found was rather small, with more than 80 percent being of a type referred to as Rōji I style, quite close to the tiles used at the Fujiwara capital.[52] Documentary sources indicate that progress in completing Kanzeonji was very slow, so while the Kawaradera-style tiles may indicate an initial effort, the bulk of the work must have been carried out from late in the seventh century through the first half of the eighth. Significantly, the Kawaradera-style round eave-end tiles found at Kanzeonji seem identical with those used at Minami Shiga haiji, with the seed pods arranged in the same 1:5:9 pattern and also with each seed somewhat smaller than the Kawaradera prototype.

Similar problems exist for Shimotsuke Yakushiji, including the date and auspices of establishment, work progress, and other technical details. Here too, however, a few Kawaradera-style tiles were excavated, certainly suggesting the same sort of relationship noted at Kanzeonji; apparently there was an early campaign in the Tenji-Tenmu era to build the temple, but it was completed only in the later seventh–first half of the eighth century (fig. 3.16 right). The Shimotsuke Yakushiji round eave-end tile, while closely related to the Kawaradera prototype and the type just discussed at Kanzeonji, has some differences, including a larger number of seed pods (1:6:12).

The Ōtsukyō temples, Kanzeonji, and Shimotsuke Yakushiji were all of great historical importance, but there are also a large number of lesser temples that have Kawaradera-type tiles. Temples in this group are clustered along the Tōsandō in eastern Japan in contrast to the Tōkaidō concentration of the Kudara Ōdera–Yamadadera style. Since the Kawaradera tile was formulated some two decades after the Kudara Ōdera–Yamadadera type, a reasonable assumption is that diffusion of the Kawaradera type was associ-

ated with a later campaign of temple-building. One theory holds that the spread of Kawaradera tiles was to the temples of leaders allied with Tenmu during the Jinshin Disturbance. While this is not impossible, we should note that this tile type initially spread from Kawaradera to the Ōtsukyō temples, which suggests a strong relationship with Tenji.

Regardless of the resolution of this problem, it is clear that the Kawaradera round eave-end tile assumed great importance in the development of a network of Buddhist temples during the years between ca. 665 and 685. Fujisawa Norihiko has argued that by 685 the construction of temples under official auspices in the eastern provinces was largely complete, as can be observed in the utilization first of the Kibi Pond–Yamadadera tile and then the Kawaradera type. He further points out that although the central government may have encouraged their building, these temples were still of mixed clan temple/official temple status. Needless to say, this factor is closely related to the overall development of a more centralized state during these decades.[53] Consequently, it is important to study carefully all available evidence related to the establishment of networks of temples throughout the country, especially ground plans and tiles.

Icons

More evidence exists for the icons of Kawaradera than we might have expected from the excavation of the temple complex proper. In 1974 a deposit located on a nearby hill to the northwest, just behind Kawaradera, turned out to contain as many as approximately 1,200 objects, including fragments of clay sculptures in the round, floor tiles, and figured tiles (*senbutsu*), and so forth. There were also fragments of small, gilt-bronze icons and iron fittings used for the temple and, importantly, two coins: a Fuju shinpō, first minted in 818, and a Jōwa shūhō, first minted in 835. These two coins demonstrate that a large part of the temple was destroyed some time after 835.[54]

Particularly impressive were the *senbutsu*, of which about 30 generally complete examples and more than 160 fragments were discovered: the intact pieces are rectangles about 23 cm by 18 cm sq (fig. 3.17). Iconographically, the *senbutsu* show a triad, with central seated buddha accompanied by flanking bodhisattvas as the main element and flying apsaras (*hiten*) at the upper left and right corners as subsidiary figures. The buddha is shown on a throne seated in "Western style," with legs pendant; the flanking bodhisattvas stand. Each figure is on a lotus pedestal, which is represented as having a stem, meant to be seen as growing out of a pond and supporting the flower.[55]

The buddha has a well-modeled body, with the right shoulder bare, thereby giving a greater sense of the form. Diaphanous drapery also contributes to the effect, especially over the legs. The drapery folds sweep down



across the front of the body and hug either leg; a particularly complex drapery arrangement is seen between the legs. The throne has a quite elaborate configuration, although the seat tends to slope forward at too strong an angle. Behind the throne, spindly trees stand to the left and right; in the top-center of the composition is a baldachino sheltering the buddha, and at the peak of this baldachino is a flaming jewel.

Fig. 3.17. Deposit behind temple: senbutsu

In contrast to the hefty buddha, the flanking bodhisattvas are very slender, especially at the waist, producing pleasing and graceful contours. Their halos lack the double rings of the buddha's halo and are proportionately smaller. Descending at either side are the scarf ends, looping under the elbow and then fluttering down to the base; this rhythmical configuration, combined with the diaphanous drapery further contributes to the overall feeling of elegance. The composition is completed by the flying apsaras at the upper left and right corners. They are represented as descending from on high, distributing lotus petals; their scarves flutter vigorously, creating a sense of movement quite different from the more static poses of the three principal deities.

Although most of the *senbutsu* were charred, traces of black lines outlining features were found on some of the faces, and there were also some remains of gilt; these details suggest strongly that in the original form, the *senbutsu* would have been quite brilliant in hue, especially within a dark hall, where they would reflect any available light in a dazzling manner. Where they were placed is unknown, although it is clear that they would have been in one or more of the three principal structures — the pagoda, the middle golden hall, and the west golden hall. On the basis of the excavated remains, one scholar has calculated that they would have covered an area of 6.3 m sq; of course, if some were lost the dimensions would have been greater.[56]

A highly important issue is the identification of the deities in the triads. This problem is complicated by the fact that on the backs of some of the *senbutsu* specific names are incised: for example, one has the name Amida, another has both Shaka and Miroku (fig. 3.18). Since the representations on the fronts seem undifferentiated, it is impossible to determine the specific iconography of any given tile. Ōwaki has suggested that they are all generic deities, which is possible, although somewhat surprising at a time when clear distinctions were made as to deity.[57]

Perhaps the most intriguing problem is the issue of the date and stylistic phase of the *senbutsu*. If the temple was begun relatively early in the 660s, as discussed above, we should probably assume that they were also made during the construction of the first buildings, since it appears that they were part of a unified composition; it seems unlikely that they would have been added later. The consensus among Japanese scholars, most vigorously argued by Ōhashi, is that these *senbutsu*, and related examples, are based on an early Tang style. This is an issue warranting detailed consideration, as it is closely related to the general tendency to see Kawaradera as directly reflecting Chinese prototypes.[58]

Another significant problem is the distribution patterns of the Kawaradera *senbutsu* form. As has frequently been observed, examples from the same mold have been excavated at a number of temples, including at three

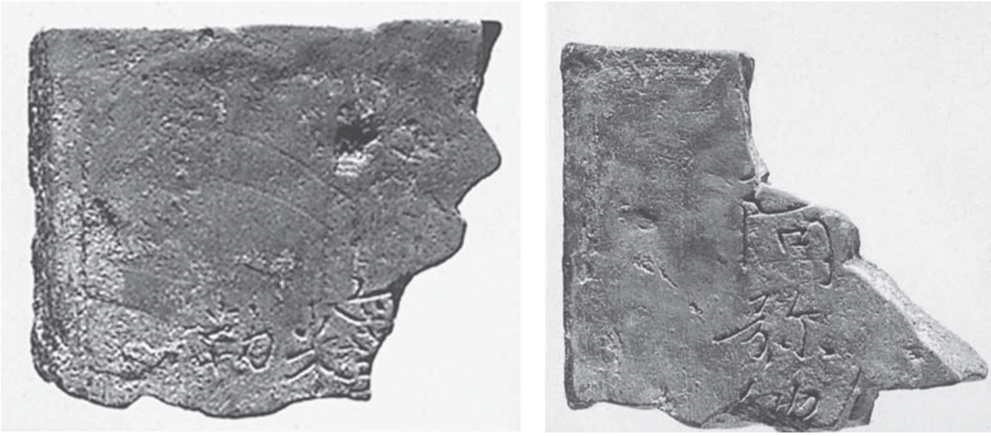


Fig. 3.18. Deposit behind temple: tiles with deity identification, Shaka and Miroku (left); Amida (right)

Nara temples — Tachibanadera, Tsubosakadera and Taimadera — as well as Kōryūji in Kyoto and Kaieji in Osaka Prefecture. Present research indicates that the *senbutsu* did not diffuse to the same degree as the roof tiles.[59]

Another type of tile was also discovered that is green-glazed and has wave patterns (fig. 3.19). About thirty large and small pieces of these were found, some at the temple site, others in the hill deposit. Significantly, there are two types, one found only at the temple proper, the other only at the deposit. The first type, discovered during the 1957–1958 excavations, has waves carved in semi-relief in a somewhat coarse manner. These consisted of small fragments, and, although they are badly damaged, it is still possible to just barely make out traces of the green glaze. The second type, found only at the hill deposit, has the wave pattern incised into the surface with a spatula; two subtypes were found: one with spiral patterns rendered in a rather thick line, the second with whirlpool patterns in a thinner line. Fortunately, these are better preserved, and because the fragments are much larger, they have been reconstructed as being around 15.5 cm × 25 cm. They are made of fine clay and are only 1.1 cm thick, while the first type is 1.5 cm thick and employs a coarser clay. As a result of these differences, scholars have concluded that the two categories were not manufactured at the same period and place. Both types, however, include examples with numbers on the back that served as indications for placement.[60]

The general assumption is that the wave-pattern tiles were laid on a flat surface to produce a lotus pond of the type seen in the Amida triad of the Tachibana Shrine in the Hōryūji museum (fig. 3.20).[61] Of course, the tiles are of much larger size, but it is not clear how the freestanding icons were arranged in relation to the lotus pond. Ōwaki has put in some words of caution: both the coarser type and the finer only appear to have been made at different times and used in different halls, but there is also a distinct possibility that the buildings that they enhanced were not destroyed at the



Fig. 3.19. Wave pattern tiles: deposit behind temple (above); temple site (below)

same time.[62] Ōwaki also points out that both types have been found at various locations in Nara Prefecture, and so we cannot be certain that the usages of the two types at Kawaradera were necessarily the same. Possibly the coarser category was produced earlier and may date back to the inception of the temple. Given the long period of time needed for the construction process of a large-scale temple, it is quite likely that the two categories could have been separated by as much as ten years or more.

Finally, and particularly important, were the many fragments of free-standing clay images. Several hundred pieces were found, including about 200 that retain distinct features of the original image. Perhaps the most surprising feature of this material was the great variation in postulated size

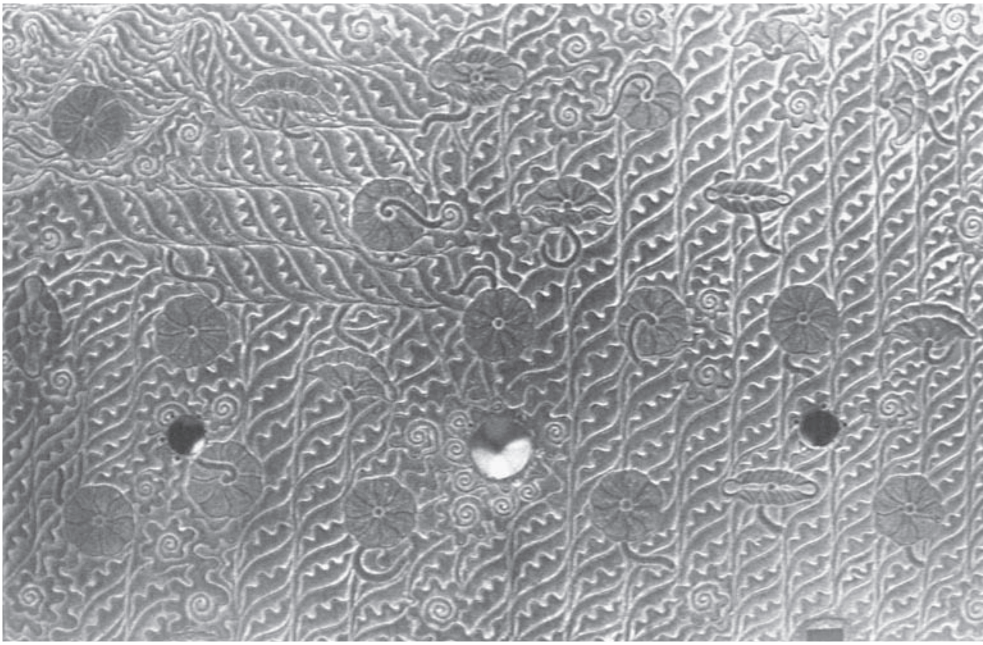


Fig. 3.20. Lotus pond base of Tachibana Shrine, Hōryūji Museum. Photograph permission from Hōryūji.

of the icons, which range from rather large to approximately life size, down to half life size, as well as smaller-scale fragments appropriate for a pagoda-type figure.[63] Determination of the larger categories was based on elements such as an ear 22.8 cm long and 12.7 cm wide and similarly large fingers (fig. 3.21). Other fragments, also including ears and fingers, were scaled to a medium size, with smaller pieces related to the other sizes mentioned. Many of these pieces appear to have been parts of Buddha and bodhisattva images, while others were from armored demigods (*tenbu*).

In the preceding paragraphs I have presented a straightforward report of the evidence pertaining to the Kawaradera icons. However, Matsuki Hiromi has attempted to determine more precisely what icons were installed in the temple, and although certain of his theories seem debatable, he does offer some interesting hypotheses. As a historian of religion, he draws on archaeological and textual data as well as more general ideas based on religious history. In one study he argues that the main icon of Kawaradera was Yakushi, the Medicine Buddha.[64] A later study is broader and considers the total iconographical program of the temple insofar as it can be reconstructed.[65]

Fundamental to his theory is the configuration of the wave tiles discussed above. In surveying Dunhuang cave paintings, Matsuki finds occurrences of both the standard wave forms and the whirlpool pattern, just as seen at Kawaradera. He also notes that there are two basic compositional treatments of the lotus ponds at Dunhuang; one type is similar to





Fig. 3.21. Deposit behind temple: fingers and ears

the Amida triad of the Tachibana Shrine, in which the individual deities sit on lotus pedestals that grow out of the pond on long stalks; in the second type the deities are on lotus pedestals that float on the pond. Given the fact that some of the clay icons of Kawaradera were very large, Matsuki suggests that the type floating on the pond would have been more appropriate, given the sheer weight of such monumental sculptures.

Matsuki's study of the archaeological and textual material suggests that Yakushi was the main icon, and several of the clay fragments appear to be for figures of the twelve guardian generals who are attendants of Yakushi. Furthermore, there are frequent references in later documentary sources stating that Yakushi was a principal deity of the temple; although we must be cautious about projecting later information back into the past, it is also not appropriate to reject such information out of hand, since it may imply recollection of the original situation. Matsuki concludes that this Yakushi program was installed in the middle golden hall. With regard to the main icon of the west golden hall, he argues that the archaeological and documentary evidence indicates that it was probably a Shō Kannon.[66]

Although Yakushi and Kannon are not a particularly common combination, Matsuki points to various instances where the two deities are seen together. He even goes so far as to suggest that there were triads combining Yakushi and Kannon.[67] A further piece of evidence relates to two important temples built after Kawaradera, by Tenji and Tenmu respectively, that have essentially the same plan as the first. Tenji may have commissioned

Kanzeonji at Dazaifu in Kyushu, to the far west, and naturally its main icon was a Kannon; Tenji's successor, Tenmu, probably had a connection with Shimotsuke Yakushiji in the far east, and it, of course, had Yakushi as the main icon.[68] Matsuki asks if this might be a broader symbolical combination of Yakushi and Kannon designed to protect the state.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Matsuki's study is his attempt to relate the imagery of Kawaradera to Tenji's desire to emulate the great Tang ruler, Tang Taizong (r. 627–649). Other scholars have considered this relationship in more general terms,[69] but Matsuki makes some quite specific claims with regard to the vowing of temples. He notes that Taizong vowed a temple, called Hongfusi, for his mother in either 632 or 634. As discussed above, the most likely scenario for Kawaradera is that Tenji vowed it in the early 660s for the sake of *his* mother, Saimei. At some stage it was given the name Gufukuji, presumably based on the name of Taizong's temple (that is, Hongfusi), although at a later stage the name of Taizong's temple was changed to Xingfusi. Kawaradera was the only one of the Four Great Temples not transferred to Heijōkyō at the beginning of the Nara period; instead, its place was taken by the Fujiwara clan temple Yamashinadera, renamed Kōfukuji (that is, Xingfusi) in its new manifestation. This parallel shift in names is unlikely to have been sheer coincidence, and Matsuki suggests that the leader of the Fujiwara clan, Fuhito, was consciously following the Chinese case in changing the name of his family temple from Yamashinadera to Kōfukuji.[70]

Matsuki not only sees a relationship in temple names, but also suggests that the selection of deities was related. In particular, he emphasizes the relationship between Taizong and the great Buddhist priest Xuanzang and suggests that Xuanzang's pious faith in Kannon may have motivated the emperor to enshrine that deity in Hongfusi.[71]

Temples Related to Kawaradera

This study generally concentrates on the individual great temples, but since Kawaradera is related to a number of other temples, I wish to survey this relationship. But before dealing with Kawaradera-related temples, it may be useful to survey the overall situation briefly. If we simply look at plans, we note that the Asukadera one pagoda/three golden halls plan does not appear to have other examples in Japan, so apparently it is without progeny. The Kibi Pond (or Kudara Ōdera) plan is a more complicated problem, since its pagoda-west (left)/golden hall–east (right) layout is seen at the nearby Abedera site and at the west compound of Hōryūji. This arrangement, anachronistically referred to in the Japanese literature as the Hōryūji plan, should probably take on a neutral designation as pagoda-west/golden hall–east, for Abedera and the Kibi Pond temple are both earlier than the

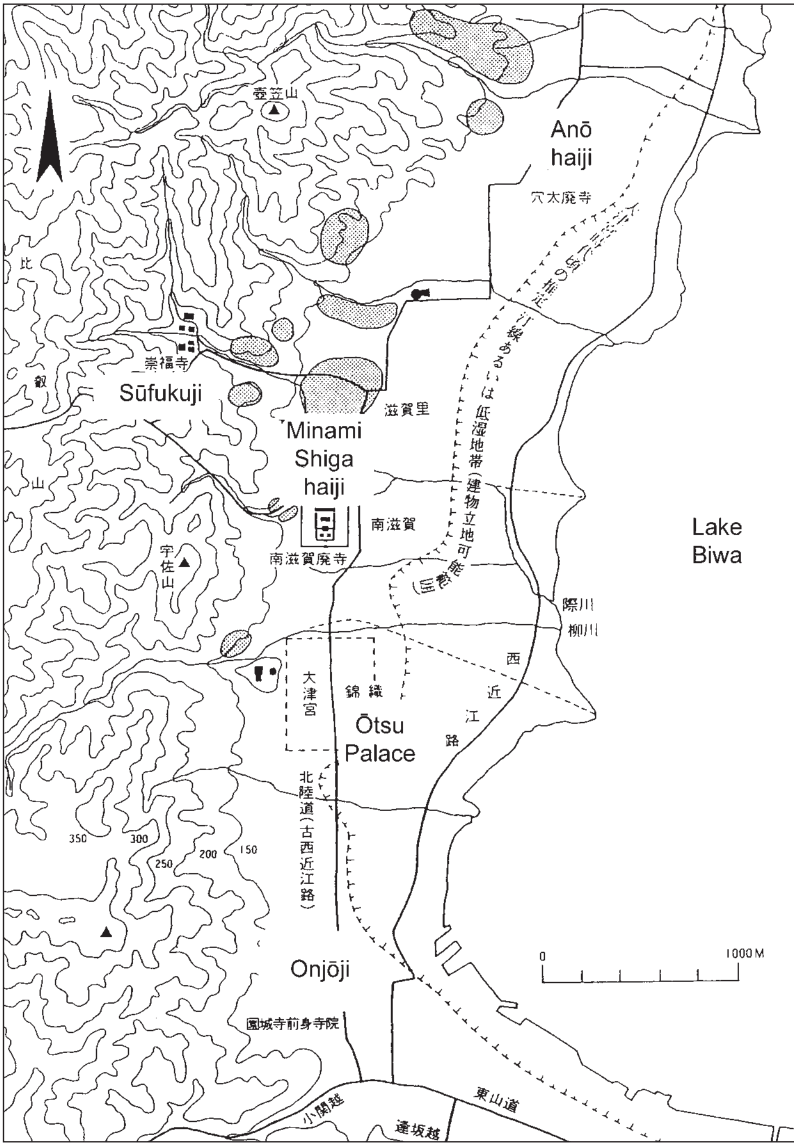
west compound. Yakushiji, which we consider in Chapter 4, has a plan that influenced some later temples, but few or none that were contemporaneous. This leaves Kawaradera, a temple with a ground plan that did have a very significant impact on temples built around the same time or shortly thereafter.

Turning to roof tiles, we find that those of Asukadera are a generic version of earlier Paekche tiles, and they are also seen elsewhere in several later sixth–early seventh century temples (figs. 1.18, 1.19). As was true of the ground plan, the tiles of Kibi Pond raise certain problems because they display elements of two lineages — the round eave-end tile seems to precede slightly the Yamadadera type of ca. 640 while the flat eave-end tile is based, with modification, on that of Ikarugadera (figs. 2.25, 2.26, 2.27). Obviously, this suggests a relationship between the early seventh-century Ikarugadera and the mid-century Kibi Pond site, but the degree to which this relationship may further imply a later connection between the Kibi Pond plan and that of the Hōryūji west compound remains to be determined. The tiles of Yakushiji are closely related to those employed at the Fujiwara palace and are perhaps best studied in that context (fig. 4.19). When we turn to Kawaradera, however, I believe we are dealing with a significantly different situation, since it is possible to establish direct connections between the "mother temple" and other temples, both near and far. Let us first consider the temples constructed in or near the Ōtsu capital of Tenji.

Ōtsu temples

When Tenji moved the court to the new capital in 667, he would have required appropriate temples there, and four temples are particularly important: Anō haiji, Minami Shiga haiji, Sūfukuji, and a predecessor to Onjōji (see Map 2). At Anō haiji, remains from the first half of the seventh century were located, so it was evidently founded at an early stage of Buddhism in Japan; Minami Shiga haiji and the Onjōji predecessor have some tiles dating directly before the establishment of the Ōtsu capital; only Sūfukuji was built at the same time as the new capital. Clearly, there was a pattern of utilizing the sites of earlier temples where possible, perhaps because of the urgency connected with the rapid construction of Ōtsukyō.

A glance at Map 2 reveals clearly the strategic locations of the four temples in relation to the palace. The Onjōji predecessor to the south and Anō haiji to the northeast protect the route to the palace following the shores of Lake Biwa; significantly, the shore was quite a bit farther inland than the present shoreline, so the two temples were closer to the lake in the premodern period. Directly behind the palace, about 500 m to the north, is the site of Minami Shiga haiji; evidently palace and temple were closely related. Finally, the new Sūfukuji was constructed to the northwest of the palace, on the lower slopes of Mt. Hiei. Also important is the location of



Map 2. The Ōtsu temples

each temple in relation to the road system, both north-south and also west over the mountains to the Kyoto basin.

Of the four, Sūfukuji is undoubtedly the best known, primarily because of the magnificent reliquary set excavated from the pagoda remains in the late 1920s. Onjōji (Miidera) is particularly famous as one of the central Tendai temples of Japan, but the predecessor we are dealing with here is not well understood because the site has not been excavated. Minami Shiga haiji was excavated in 1928, 1938, and surveyed in recent years, and Anō

haiji was excavated in 1984–1985 at the time that an important highway was being constructed nearby. Kawaradera-style roof tiles have been found at all four sites, thereby linking each to the period of Tenji. (In the case of the Onjōji predecessor, the tiles are surface finds, not the result of archaeological investigation.)

In the present context, Minami Shiga haiji is most important since it has a plan that is apparently very close to Kawaradera; that is to say, there is a front section with a south gate, middle gate, roofed corridor, and two small halls and a back section with a lecture hall and priests' quarters — these two sections are separated by the north side of the roofed corridor into which the middle golden hall is embedded, just as at Kawaradera (fig. 3.22a). Unfortunately, the interpretation of the excavated remains is somewhat controversial; for example, one suggestion is that the two smaller halls within the roofed corridor could both be pagodas, rather than being the same as the west golden hall/east pagoda format seen at Kawaradera. Of course, it is possible that scholars have unconsciously imposed the Kawaradera plan on the Minami Shiga haiji remains in order to directly associate it with Tenji, but on balance the relationship to the Kawaradera plan is rather compelling.

Nothing can be said about the plan of the predecessor to Onjōji because it has not been investigated archaeologically. Fortunately, however, Anō haiji was scientifically excavated in the mid-1980s (fig. 3.22b). The situation at this site is rather complicated because of the chronological disparity in the levels: the earlier temple was aligned significantly to the east of a north-south axis, while the later version is much closer to true north. This newer temple had a golden hall to the west, a pagoda to the east, and a lecture hall directly to the north; although the arrangement golden hall west/pagoda east is the same as that of the forecourt area of Kawaradera, otherwise not much similarity can be detected. Nevertheless, the presence of Kawaradera-style roof tiles demonstrates the connection with the period of Tenji, and we can probably assume that it was not felt necessary to replicate the Kawaradera plan in the temples to the north and south. Because it is built in a mountainous area, Sūfukuji has a rather irregular plan. Moreover, it too was apparently not thought to require the Kawaradera plan, although it was provided with roof tiles of that lineage. Minami Shiga haiji is the only one of the four that adheres generally to the Kawaradera plan, a factor suggesting, in my opinion, that it had a particularly significant place in the official Ōtsukyō temple system.

Kanzeonji

The relationship between Kawaradera and the Ōtsu temples is, of course, directly associated with the activities of Tenji. There are, however, other temples that appear also to have such connections, although the relevant

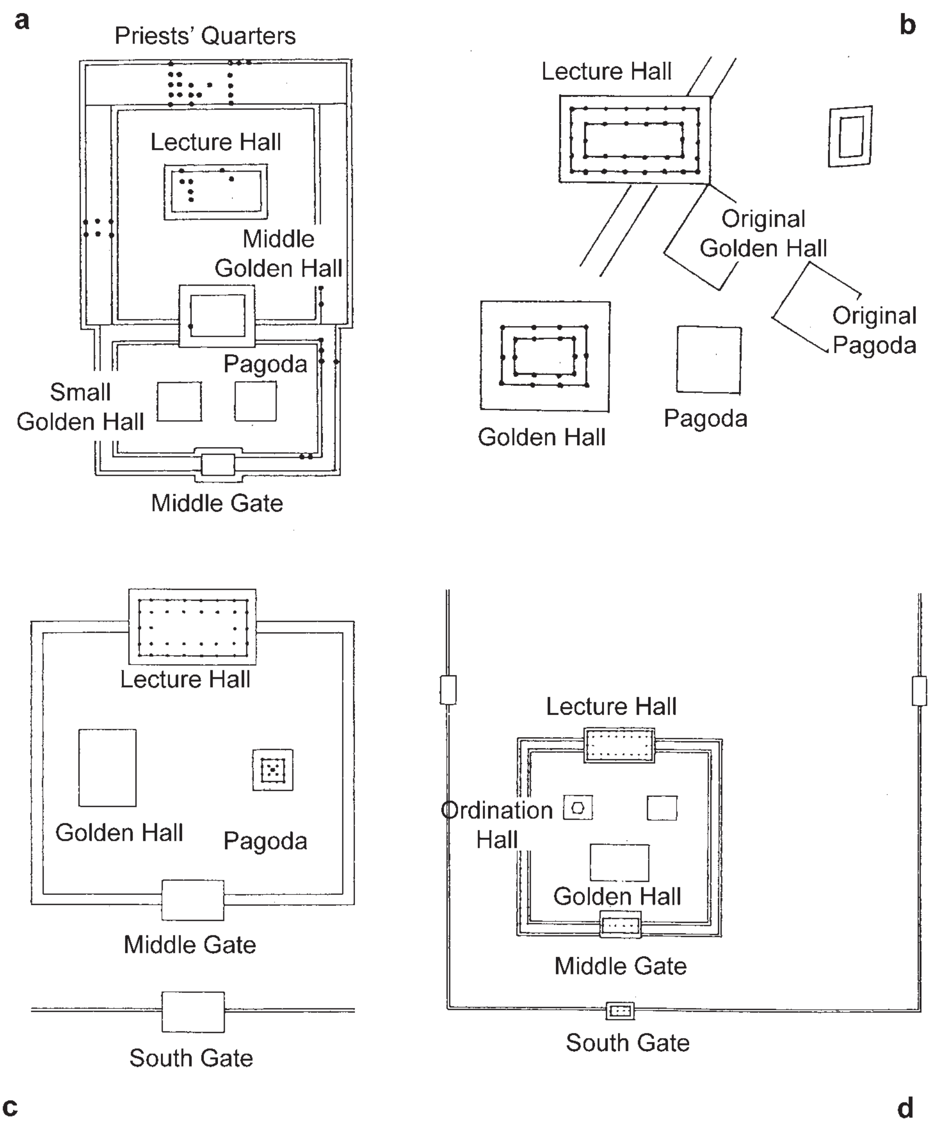


Fig. 3.22. Comparative temple plans: a. Minami Shiga haiji, b. Anō haiji, c. Kanzeonji, d. Shimotsuke Yakushiji

evidence is harder to evaluate. Especially significant in this regard is Kanzeonji, at Dazaifu in northern Kyushu.[72] Before considering some of the problems, perhaps it is appropriate to indicate in general terms why scholars have proposed the Tenji-Kawaradera-Kanzeonji-Saimei association. Particularly important is an entry in *Shoku Nihongi* of 709:

> Kanzeonji in Tsukushi was erected by Tenji tennō to pray for Saimei tennō. But although years have passed it is not yet completed. Therefore, under plans of Dazaifu fifty *kushichō* ought to be assigned, and labourers raised in the winter months to construct it quickly with expert supervision.[73]

The plan of the temple is a simplified version of the Kawaradera plan (fig. 3.22c). Moreover, tiles excavated from the grounds of the Kanzeonji site are very close to those found at Kawaradera. These three factors — text, plan, and tiles — are readily amenable to evaluation, but there has also been a good deal of historical speculation concerning Kanzeonji. Saimei had gone to northern Kyushu in order to supervise a military mission to save Paekche, but unfortunately she died there in 661. A supposition that Kanzeonji was erected as a memorial for Saimei is plausible, especially given the circumstances adduced above to explain the founding of Kawaradera. The Saimei-Kanzeonji connection, however, cannot be as clearly demonstrated as the Saimei-Kawaradera relationship, and doubts remain about this theory. An especially strong objection is related to the fact that although Saimei died at the Asakura palace, there is no early, documented connection between her and Kanzeonji.[74]

Prior to dealing with Kanzeonji, some discussion of Dazaifu is necessary. The history of this site is extraordinarily complex, so only the briefest summary is possible here. Dazaifu served as the government's headquarters in Kyushu and was especially charged with relations with the continent, both friendly and otherwise. For that reason a city containing the government offices was built on a large scale, and it was protected by defensive forts placed on the adjacent mountains. Although a good deal of evidence is available for eighth-century Dazaifu, circumstances during the seventh century remain vague; certainly something important existed there during the first half of the century, but it is not until the second half that we can delineate the situation with some confidence. The first precise reference to the site is in a *Nihon shoki* entry of 671 relating to a message from the governor of Tsushima Province to the Tsukushi no Dazaifu reporting the imminent arrival of a large mission from Tang China. The nature of this entry may indicate that Dazaifu had been in place for some time; of course, if it was functioning during the reign of Tenji he could have established the adjacent temple, Kanzeonji.[75]

The earliest reference to Kanzeonji is an entry in *Shinshō kyaku choku fushō: Jifūbu* of 686 stating that land was granted to the temple, which suggests that the temple had already been established.[76] However, it is also possible that if the grant was for the purpose of construction, actual work had not begun until that year. In 701 a decision was made to terminate the land grant to Kanzeonji after five years, which probably means that the important buildings were scheduled to be finished by then.[77]

If we now return to the 709 *Shoku Nihongi* entry, we might argue that since *Nihon shoki* does not refer to the founding of Kanzeonji and since a reason is provided only in *Shoku Nihongi*, a later text, we cannot be certain that the temple was actually established in the 660s by Tenji for the sake of

his deceased mother, Saimei.[78] There is certainly something to be said for this argument, but there is also no reference to the establishment of Kawaradera in *Nihon shoki*. Moreover, *Nihon shoki* provides very little information concerning Fujiwarakyō, surely the largest construction project of the seventh century. Consequently, I tend to accept the *Shoku Nihongi* entry as providing a plausible reason for the vowing of Kanzeonji; after all, 709 is not so long after the hypothetical event that memory of it would have been lost. Furthermore, there does not seem to be any compelling reason to distrust the entry.

Saimei died at the Asakura palace, so it is hardly surprising that the suggestion has been made that this was an appropriate location for a memorial temple. Arguing against this proposal is the fact that a series of disasters occurred at the Asakura palace, including the destruction of the palace because the local deities were angry and a number of deaths attributed to the same curse. An official was killed by a lightning bolt sent by the gods, Prince Ise died in the sixth month, and Saimei herself died on the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month. All in all, this does not appear to have been a very auspicious locale, especially as an *oni* (demon) wearing a large hat appeared at the top of Mt. Asakura and gazed down at Saimei's funerary ceremonies. If the Asakura palace was to have continued in use, serious efforts to pacify the evil spirits would have been required. But apparently the site was abandoned.[79] Consequently, I somewhat doubt the possibility of a memorial temple being erected there.

The next mention of Kanzeonji is in 723, when a priest named Mansei was dispatched to work on the temple.[80] Mansei already had a distinguished record of construction activities, suggesting that the court continued to worry about progress at the temple. Then, in 731, the masks, robes, and musical instruments for Gigaku dance drama were presented, indicating that Kanzeonji was largely completed.[81] In 735, when a serious smallpox epidemic struck northern Kyushu, the court ordered that Buddhist sutras be read at temples, including one referred to in the text as "Fu Ōdera."[82] Although this term has always been interpreted as referring to Kanzeonji, it is a little puzzling that the temple's proper name was not used.

A famous Nara monk, Genbō, was sent to Tsukushi in 745 to supervise some sort of construction. This assignment was perhaps a demotion for Genbō, and he died there under mysterious circumstances in the next year. *Fusō ryakki* and other sources associate Genbō with Kanzeonji, making it very likely that it was his goal in Tsukushi; a further suggestion is that he performed the "completion of work" (*rakkei kuyō*) ceremony, signifying that the temple was finally thought of as complete, some sixty or eighty years after it presumably was vowed. We have already seen cases of temples taking decades to be completed, but this length of time seems excessive;

perhaps it can be explained in terms of the temple's remote location, at least from the perspective of the court, combined with the extensive secular building required.[83]

Tamura Enchō has presented an interesting theory concerning the construction process of Kanzeonji: the temple bell is one of the earliest full-scale examples in Japan, along with another at Myōshinji, Kyoto, inscribed with a date equivalent to 698. Tamura speculates that if the Kanzeonji bell was made around 698, a substantial portion of the temple structures must also have been completed by that time since the bell tower is not usually one of the first structures to be built. If this is so, however, Tamura must then explain to what the 709 *Shoku Nihongi* entry refers; his argument is that it concerns the making of the Buddhist ritual implements needed by the temple. A major problem with his theory is the status of the *kushichō*, since they were ordinarily low-level workers assigned to menial tasks, not the type of specialists who made ritual implements.[84]

An entry in *Ruijū sandai kyaku* of 848 states that Kanzeonji was built by Tenmu.[85] Since his reign encompassed the years 672–686, it corresponds quite well with the *Shinshō kyaku choku fushō: Jifūbu* entry of 686, especially if, as we assumed, the temple was already functioning by that year. Of course *Ruijū sandai kyaku* is a later text, requiring caution, but it is difficult to imagine why this story would have been fabricated for it is a situation similar to that seen in the Tenji reference in the 709 entry. As should be apparent by now, there are conflicting sources for the establishment of Kanzeonji, although it seems clear that it was a functioning institution by at least the later seventh century, if not earlier.

Throughout this study, when the documentary sources have failed to allow a clear solution to a problem, we have frequently turned to material remains for elucidation. In the case of Kanzeonji these are principally the roof tiles and the temple plan, but the temple bell just mentioned combines features of both, since it is both physical evidence and a documentary source because it is inscribed. Also found are tiles made from the same mold as the founding-period tiles of Kawaradera, indicating a strong connection between Kawaradera and Kanzeonji. However, more than 80 percent of the excavated tiles are of the Rōji I style. Since these date from the end of the seventh to the first part of the eighth century, it is reasonable to assume that much of the construction was carried out during those years.

Particularly important is the temple plan of the original Kanzeonji (fig. 3.22c). This plan seems to be something of a simplification of the Kawaradera plan. Kanzeonji had a south gate, middle gate, golden hall (to the west), and pagoda (to the east), but the middle golden hall of the grander Kawaradera was transformed into a lecture hall at Kanzeonji. Nevertheless, this lecture hall is embedded in the roofed corridor in the same way as at Kawaradera, creating a similar effect.

Shimotsuke Yakushiji

Shimotsuke Yakushiji, in Tochigi Prefecture, produces similar issues to those encountered in the study of Kanzeonji, although here the evidence is less clear, and many problems remain to be solved.[86] While Kanzeonji appears to have been a royal temple from the onset, Yakushiji was the clan temple of the Shimotsukenu clan, one of the most powerful families in the Kantō region.[87] We see the clan transferring their wealth (and symbolic authority) from the making of large, mounded tombs (*kofun*) to the more up-to-date strategy of temple-building on a large scale. There is no space here to trace the early history of this clan, but we must consider carefully one of the clan's most powerful leaders during the last decades of the seventh and the first decade of the eighth century, Shimotsukenu Komaro.[88]

Komaro first appears in the historical record in 689 when he requested permission to free 600 slaves, a number signifying substantial wealth and indicating that he was of considerable importance; Jitō granted this request.[89] At this time Komaro, who already had quite a high court rank, was active in government affairs in the capital; during the following years he achieved various important offices and participated in the compilation of the Taihō *ritsuryō* legal codes. He died in 709, holding a very elevated rank for a provincial nobleman, just prior to the transfer of the capital to Heijōkyō; subsequently his family had their own temple in the new capital, another indication of their high status.[90]

The position of the Shimotsukenu family in the capital established, we must now return to their temple in the periphery (fig. 3.22d). Yakushiji was excavated in six campaigns (1966–1971) by the Tochigi Board of Education, with very important results. Two findings are especially significant for our purposes: the presence of Kawaradera-type roof tiles and a temple plan similar to that of Kawaradera. However, as relatively few roof tiles of this type were found, it suggested to the excavators that the tiles were associated with an earlier temple built prior to the larger eighth-century establishment.[91] It is not known if Komaro was the first of his family to have been so prominent in the capital, but he, or some other member of his clan, was allowed to use the "official" Kawaradera-style roof tiles for the temple. Nevertheless, at this stage Yakushiji should still be seen as a clan temple, despite the close association of its patrons with the highest levels of government.

Just exactly when and how Yakushiji assumed official status is uncertain, although we can readily imagine that Komaro's achievements had an impact. Be that as it may, during the early Nara period the temple was remodeled and substantially enlarged. As Mori has pointed out, this era saw the transfer of important temples from Fujiwara to Heijō as well as efforts on the part of the government to strictly control the establishment

of new temples, so the simple fact that considerable work was carried out at Yakushiji is a direct indication of its high status.[92] Two individuals associated with the Nara period construction at the temple appear in contemporary documents: Ue no imiki Kobito in *Ukyō keichō* collected in *Shōsōin monjo* and a monk named Shūzō. The former was already seventy-nine years old when he appears in this 733 record with the title of "supervisor of construction of Shimotsuke Yakushiji," so it is unlikely that this was a new or recent appointment. It suggests, rather, that he had been supervising construction some years earlier; Shūzō appears with the same appointment in 738 in *Suruga kuni shōzei chō*.[93] Combining these data, it seems evident that work on the temple was carried out from perhaps the 720s through the 730s, adequate time to construct a large-scale temple.

Although the excavations clarified the plan of Yakushiji, serious problems remain. The layout of Kanzeonji was a modified version of the original Kawaradera plan in that it had a lecture hall in the position that Kawaradera had a middle golden hall. Yakushiji follows the basic axial scheme of south gate-middle gate-golden hall-lecture hall, with two smaller structures to the east and west of the central axis; however, the arrangement here is significantly different in that the golden hall is the first structure encountered after entering the middle gate, while the two smaller buildings are placed between this golden hall and the lecture hall. Moreover, there are complications in identifying these two halls; although it is certain that the west hall contained a hexagonal ordination platform (*kaidan*), the function of the east hall has not been determined. Further confusing the matter was the discovery of a pagoda some 50 m east of the east side of the roofed corridor. If this is, in fact, Yakushiji's pagoda, then it is highly unlikely that the enigmatic east hall could also be a pagoda. As should now be evident, the temple does not have an especially close resemblance to the Kawaradera plan, and yet it still seems as if there is some relationship, especially in view of the Kawaradera-type tiles discovered at a lower level. And, of course, the presence of official, government-sponsored ordination platforms at both Kanzeonji and Yakushiji suggest a further link between the two outlying temples and the great central establishment, Tōdaiji, with its ordination platform hall, which was founded by the Chinese monk, Ganjin.[94]

In this section I have devoted considerable attention to temples that appear to be related to Kawaradera; in the case of the Ōtsu temples, especially Minami Shiga haiji, the reason is obvious, but what about Kanzeonji and Yakushiji? Tentatively, I would suggest that we are beginning to see the formation of a nationwide network of temples designed to enhance the authority of the central government. Kanzeonji was always a royal temple, built next to the government headquarters, Dazaifu, in Kyushu; although the status of Yakushiji is more complicated, given that it undoubtedly began as a clan temple, all of the evidence points to its transformation into

a state temple in the early Nara period. All of this is at a stage prior to the establishment of the Kokubunji/Kokubunniji system by the Shōmu court at the middle of the eighth century, and yet it must signify an increasing consciousness of the value of official temples to further the interests of the state.

Conclusion

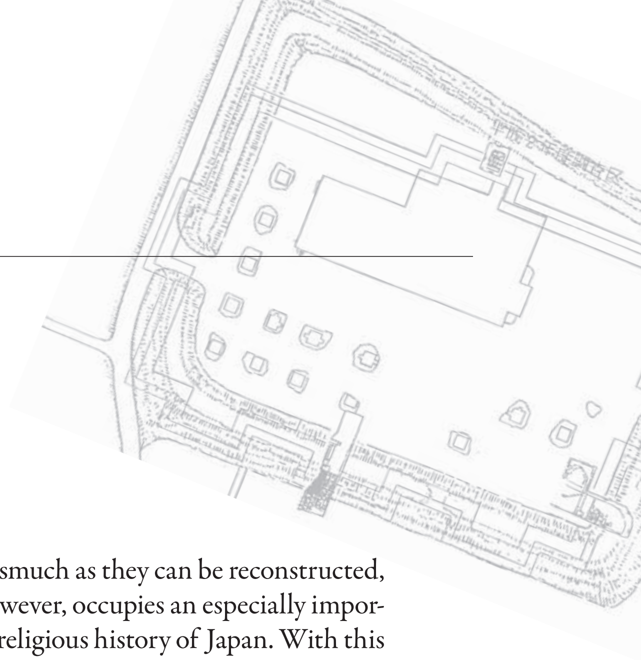
This chapter has been concerned with a period (ca. 650–675) during which some of the most significant developments in early Japanese history took place. In a sense, the period is bracketed at either side by crucial events: the major transition from Soga rule to that of the royal line around 645–650, and the military disturbance of 672 that saw the defeat of Ōtomo, Tenji's son, by Tenmu, who brought the capital back from Ōtsu to Asuka, the traditional location. There were, of course, key political events occurring in China and especially on the Korean peninsula to which the Yamato government had to respond; consequently, during this period one sees the emergence of a new polity, one more able to cope with the broader political situation, both at home and abroad.

Some difficulty is encountered in attempting to relate the building of Kawaradera to the overall historical context. While Asukadera can be definitively connected with the leader of the ruling Soga clan, Umako, and Kudara Ōdera is similarly directly associated with the monarch, Jomei, the early history of Kawaradera is somewhat mysterious. Nevertheless, even though specific evidence as to why, when, and by whom it was pledged is lacking, I tried above to relate it to the activities of Tenji, suggesting that his aim was to construct a temple in memory of his late mother, Saimei. Despite the obscurity of Kawadera's origins, that it occupied a central position in the elite temple structure is evident from the documentary record, especially during our final era, ca. 675–710. Moreover, the quality of the temple's construction certainly indicates patronage at the highest level. Kawaradera had an innovative ground plan that appears to have influenced the plans of other temples, especially in Tenji's capital at Ōtsu, but also in regions far to both the east and west. Similarly, the diffusion of the Kawaradera-type roof tile is notable. Perhaps we are seeing in both of these factors early evidence of a closely related network of temples throughout the land.

The occurrence of a major program of large-scale clay icons at Kawaradera distinguishes it from other members of the Four Great Temples group and must be seen as evidence for the adoption of new modes from the continent. Certainly, the innovative plan, the fine construction techniques, the beautiful roof and floor tiles, and the magnificent clay images must have created a powerful ambience for this temple. Of course, the fact that it was

not transferred to the new Heijō capital places Kawaradera in a different category from its peers.

A number of complicated issues have occupied our attention in these pages. Less is sure about Kawaradera than we would like, but that it was a central institution, associated with highly important political and religious policies, cannot be doubted. We must now turn to our fourth temple, Yakushiji, vowed and built in the last quarter of the century. Fortunately, in its case more certainty is possible, allowing us to situate this supremely important temple within the broader environment of the time.



Chapter Four

YAKUSHIJI

ALL OF THE Four Great Temples, inasmuch as they can be reconstructed, were grand establishments; the last, however, occupies an especially important place in the political, artistic, and religious history of Japan. With this temple we are dealing with one of the most significant monuments of early architecture in Japan, Yakushiji. Before turning to that matter, let us first consider some background for the temple, since it was conceived and created during a particularly lively period of Japanese history.

Historical Introduction

The key political event of the later seventh century was undoubtedly the Jinshin Disturbance (Jinshin no ran) of 672, as it led to important changes in the political world, including another capital transfer.[1] Previously we examined the significance of the move to Ōtsu, and here we must analyze the return to Asuka and the accompanying events. As will be recalled, Jomei and Saimei had two sons, Prince Naka and Prince Ōama, Prince Naka, of course, reigning as Tenji. He wished his son, Prince Ōtomo, to succeed to the throne, but Prince Ōama had his own designs on that office. The result was a bloody civil war waged between the forces of the brother of the previous ruler and the brother's nephew. In the end, Prince Ōama prevailed, ascending the throne as Tenmu in 672. One of Tenmu's first acts was to transfer the palace back to Asuka, the traditional location, presumably to the delight of many of his supporters.[2]

Although the Jinshin Disturbance is often seen in terms of a dramatic civil war, its larger significance relates directly to the process of centralization that took place during the following years. Certainly the documentary sources clearly indicate that Tenmu and his supporters were determined to build a strong governmental structure with an effective bureaucracy, sound economic foundations, and a military capable of coping with both the internal and external circumstances.

An issue that has long engaged historians is the initial usage of the term

tennō (heavenly monarch); objective scholars long ago rejected the existence of the term in early periods, with the consensus being that it probably first appeared during the Jitō reign. One of the key methodological themes in this study is the importance of newly excavated material evidence, and in terms of the *tennō* problem the stunning recent discovery of a *mokkan* in Asuka Pond, associated with the 670s and bearing the characters for *tennō*, provides strong evidence for the presence of the term relatively early in the Tenmu reign. The Chinese-style names for the monarchs were assigned by the authors of *Nihon shoki* early in the eighth century, but I wonder if there is any significance in the names Tenji (Heavenly Wisdom) and Tenmu (Heavenly Warrior), since both seem to properly characterize the two monarchs. In any case, I do suggest that the evocation of heaven, as in Heavenly Monarch (*tennō*), should be interpreted as one aspect of a new formulation of the royal institution and its association with the polity. Building on the efforts of his brother Tenji, Tenmu appears to have been forming a new image for himself as ruler. Entries in *Nihon shoki* indicate that Tenmu was formulating courtly ceremonies that would highlight his centrality for the state; for example, emphasis was placed on the first audience of the New Year (*chōga*), and efforts were made to enhance the symbolic purchase of enthronement (*daijōsai*).[3]

Limited documentary evidence exists for the economic foundations of Tenmu's administration, but once again archaeology comes to the rescue. The most important architectural undertaking of the last quarter of the seventh century was not a temple, but the establishment and construction of a Chinese-style capital, normally referred to as the Fujiwara capital (fig. 4.1).[4] Extensive excavations over the last few decades have made clear that the Fujiwara capital was built on a much larger scale than had previously been thought and was certainly of similar status with the succeeding Heijō capital. Despite this extraordinary and unprecedented expenditure of wealth and labor, the building of the capital and palace is not documented in *Nihon shoki*; nevertheless, the simple fact that it was built is proof of the substantial economic resources that Tenmu commanded.[5] Since the court did not move into this capital until 694, there has been a tendency to think of its period of activity only in terms of the later-seventh–early-eighth century, prior to the move to the Heijō capital in 710. While it is true that Fujiwarakyō was occupied for only about sixteen years, I believe that planning for it began almost as soon as Tenmu returned to Asuka. In that sense, the desire to build a full-scale, geometrically designed palace and capital can be seen as symbolizing the great ambitions of the new court; rather than relying on the traditional palace complex, with adjacent administrative quarters, now there was to be a "proper" palace and capital similar in scale and grandeur to those on the continent. The degree to which this ambition was realized will occupy us presently, but for the moment we need

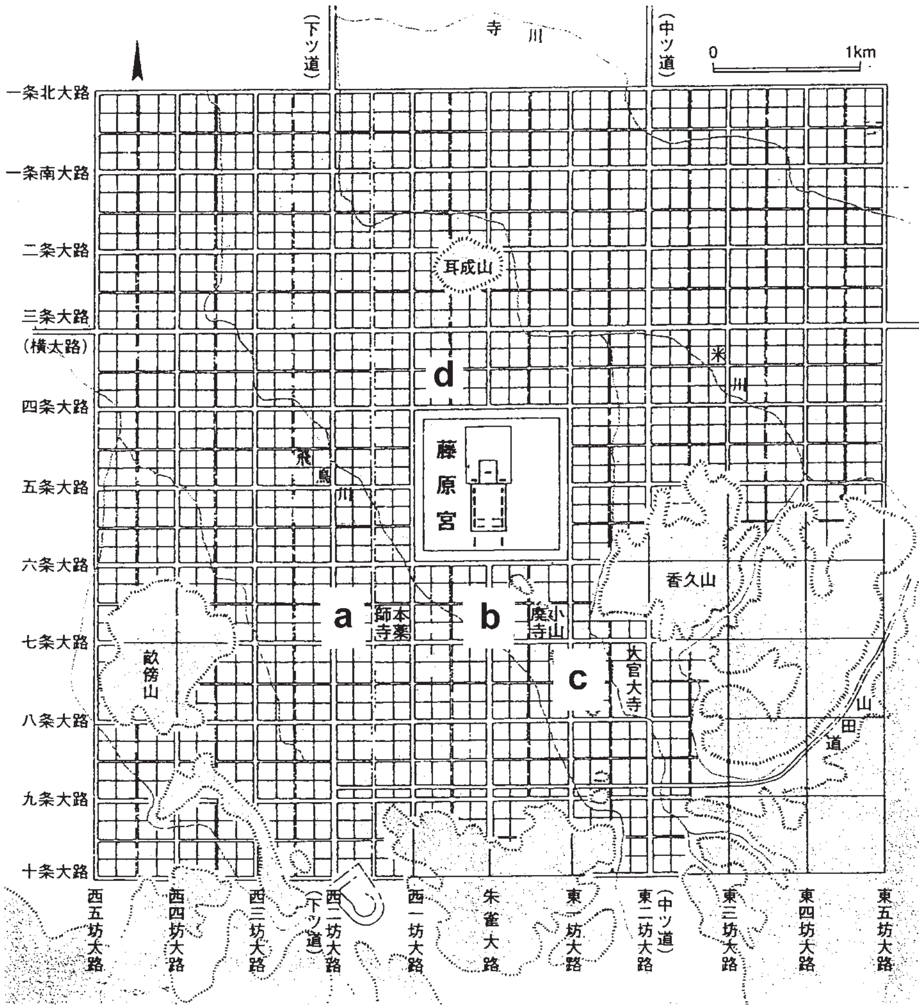


Fig. 4.1. Plan of Fujiwarakyō with: a. Yakushiji, b. Koyama haiji, c. Daikandaiji, d. palace

only think about the conceptual importance of this enormous building campaign.

Although the construction of the new capital must have been a central aspect of Tenmu's policies, he of course never resided there; rather, he continued to live in the Asuka Kiyomihara Palace. This palace was located in the middle of the Asuka region, the area that was central to most political matters during the seventh century. Significantly, it was in this area that the great families that had previously dominated government resided and had their power bases. In organizing his own government, Tenmu had to cope with these earlier structures, a problem he solved by relying on members of his own family to staff key posts, rather than on the leaders of the great families. This policy very much contrasts with earlier practices where the

leaders of the great clans, such as the Soga or Abe, dominated the political world. While Nakatomi no Kamatari, later Fujiwara no Kamatari (d. 669), was said to have played a crucial role in the coup that toppled the Soga (the so-called Taika Reform), not much is heard of him or his family until near the end of the seventh century, when his son, Fujiwara Fuhito (659–720), became an important figure at the courts of Jitō and her successors. Clearly, Tenmu and his advisors were making strong efforts to concentrate power in their own hands.

International relations must also have loomed large for the Tenmu court. Following the Tang-Silla joint conquest of the other kingdoms on the Korean peninsula, Silla was able to drive the Tang armies out from much of the peninsula, thereby establishing the Unified Silla kingdom (668–935). Significantly, during the reigns of Tenmu and Jitō, the court had frequent diplomatic contacts with Silla, but few with Tang China.[6] Apparently Yamato saw Silla as the most important state in the area, necessitating much closer relations than with more distant Tang. I believe that Silla was the proximate source for many developments during this period, and we must always keep the role of Silla in mind, since otherwise there is the danger of shifting the focus to Tang at a time when Tang-Yamato relations were relatively weak. From the perspective of the Tenmu court, Silla was undoubtedly the key player in the diplomatic and cultural spheres.

Princess Uno, the consort of Tenmu, seems to have shared her husband's ideas and plans, and upon his death she succeeded to the throne as Jitō *tennō*.[7] Her reign was from 686 until 697, although it is usually thought that she continued to have considerable political authority until her death in 702. Much of the supervision and construction of the Fujiwara palace and capital was carried out during her reign, and she was, of course, the first monarch to reside in the Fujiwara palace.

Tenmu and Jitō planned to have their son, Prince Kusakabe (662–689), succeed to the throne, but not long after his father died, the son also passed away, creating a dilemma for Jitō. Her solution, following earlier practice, was to assume the throne herself, waiting for a suitable male heir old enough to become monarch. The choice fell to Prince Karu (683–707), who reigned as Monmu (697–707). Karu was the son of Kusakabe and Princess Abe, a daughter of Tenji by a Soga consort, Mei no iratsume. Only fourteen when he acceded, presumably he was a figurehead, at least until the death of his grandmother Jitō in 702. He was, in fact, the first young monarch in our story, something that we should keep in mind because we are so familiar with the frequent occurrence of this phenomenon later (see Genealogy 2).

Chapter 2 included a description of Monmu Daikandaiji in the context of the sequence of temples from Kudara Ōdera to Takechi Ōdera to Daikandaiji to Monmu Daikandaiji. There we were concerned primarily with

how this enormous temple related to a lengthy development going as far back as 639 and continuing, of course, with the Heijōkyō successor, Daianji. Since that discussion took Monmu Daikandaiji out of chronological order, we did not examine the historical factors in the last decades of the seventh and the first decade of the eighth century, a matter to which we must now turn. Evidence analyzed in Chapter 2 suggested that construction of Monmu Daikandaiji began around 699–700. Who was responsible for the decision to build the temple? When was the decision taken? And why was the first Daikandaiji considered in some way inappropriate? Available historical documentation does not permit answers to such questions, although it is unlikely that the decision had much to do with young Monmu. That being the case, the strongest candidate is certainly Jitō herself, perhaps in cooperation with Fujiwara Fuhito. Intimately involved with the conception and construction of Fujiwarakyō, and the first monarch to reside there, she must have wanted a temple equivalent to the grandeur of the new palace and capital. Perhaps the first Daikandaiji appeared old-fashioned or was in some other way thought unsuitable. It is even possible that the desire for symmetrically placed "great" temples to the southeast and southwest of the palace was important. Since the east block was already occupied by Koyama haiji it was therefore necessary to move farther south; be that as it may, tremendous resources were devoted to the building of the new temple.

Monmu's early death produced the familiar situation: who would succeed to the throne? Once more, the traditional course of action was adopted, and Princess Abe now ruled, as Genmei (707–715), in place of her son. She was over forty when she ascended the throne, presumably as experienced as Jitō before her. Genmei was the last monarch to reside in Fujiwarakyō, since early in her reign the decision was taken to move once again and construct a brand new capital at Heijō. With that decision and the subsequent activities we move beyond the scope of this chapter, so here we will back up a bit and consider developments in Buddhism in the last phase of the seventh century.

Significant developments in Buddhism are associated with Tenmu's reign; some of which were noted earlier, but bear repeating. Activity begins from the start of the reign, in the third month of 673, with the project to copy the entire Buddhist canon.[8] As noted in Chapter 3, this was carried out at Kawaradera, the great temple assumed to have been dedicated to the memory of Tenmu's mother, Saimei.[9] Then, as discussed in detail in Chapter 2, in the eleventh month of the same year, the order was given to move Kudara Ōdera from its original location to Takechi. Since Kudara Ōdera was directly associated with both Tenmu's father, Jomei, and also with his mother, it seems that these early efforts to support Buddhism were quite specifically kept within the family circle.

This is not the full story for 673, however, since in addition to support, Tenmu and his court were also concerned with control of Buddhist institutions. Control of the clergy was augmented by the appointment of the priest Gisei as junior *sōzu* and two priest-officials, called *sakan*, were added to the two already serving, to make a total of four. These efforts were expanded ten years later (683) with the appointment of *sōjō*, *sōzu*, and *risshi* and the proclamation: "Let those who have general control over the priests and nuns act according to the law."[10] In Chapter 1 we encountered the titles *sōjō* and *sōzu* in the 624 edict, so it appears that the appointments made nearly sixty years later may reflect earlier practice: the position of *risshi*, however, is new. In any case, these appointments must be understood as signifying the continuing efforts of the court to maintain its authority over the clergy.[11]

The year 679 saw a great deal of activity in the Buddhist realm, insofar as this can be gauged from *Nihon shoki*. An edict of 679.4.5, to be discussed in the Conclusion, refers to the regulation of temples and also orders that the names of temples be fixed.[12] The fixing of temple names is of considerable importance because, in my opinion, until this time temples were given geographical rather than Buddhist designations; the order to name temples, of course, offers an explanation for Yakushiji's name, "Temple of the Medicine Buddha." Later in the same year, on 679.10.13, there is an edict regulating the appropriate garb and attendants for monks and nuns, and a second edict of the tenth month gives instructions as to the care of those who are sick.[13] Closely related to the 679.4.5 edict is one of 680.4, also to be analyzed in the Conclusion, relating to the status of the great national temples.[14] These edicts of 679 and 680 were primarily connected with the regulation and administration of temples, so evidently the 673/683 and 679/680 orders constitute a serious effort at control; by the early 680s the court, now organized more efficiently, was exercising broad authority over Buddhist institutions and individuals.[15] An important edict of 685.3.27, toward the end of Tenmu's reign, read as follows:

> Orders were sent to all the provinces that in every house a Buddhist shrine (*bussha*) should be provided, and an image of Buddha with Buddhist scriptures placed there. Worship was to be paid and offerings of food made at these shrines.[16]

Problems of interpretation of this edict have evoked much discussion, but as this matter is too complex to deal with adequately here we may limit ourselves to pointing out that it signifies a broad diffusion of something that can be loosely referred to as "official Buddhism."

Jitō, Tenmu's wife and successor, asserted her very strong support of Buddhism in a long edict of 691.2.1:

> The Empress addressed a decree to the Ministers saying: "In the reigns of the former Emperors ye erected Buddhist Halls and Scripture Treasuries, and practised the six monthly fasts. The Emperors from time to time sent Ōtoneri to inquire after the welfare of the priests, and the same has also been done in Our own reign. Let us therefore with zealous hearts continue to uphold the Buddhist faith."[17]

As always, caution and skepticism are required in the interpretation of *Nihon shoki*, but by the 690s the degree of reliability seems greatly improved, and we may be quite confident that this decree indicates a reasonably well-developed institutional basis for Buddhism.

Yakushiji and Its Architecture

Of the Four Great Temples, Yakushiji is the easiest to visualize today because of the reproduction of the original temple layout as it was constructed in Nara (Heijōkyō) early in the eighth century (figs. 4.2).[18] Although there are slight differences between the Fujiwarakyō and Heijōkyō dimensions, generally speaking they are quite similar; the newness of the current structures at Nara probably give us a clear idea of the bright colors of a freshly painted ancient building. The site of Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji is somewhat desolate today, with the exposed foundation stones of the golden hall in the backyard of an old house; however, the raised platforms for the east and west pagodas, out in the fields, allow us to imagine the original layout. Unfortunately, the lecture hall remains are now under other houses to the north, so this part of the compound is obscured.[19]

Visualizing the original icons of Yakushiji is more problematical. Surviving at the Nara temple is a monumental bronze Yakushi triad, certainly one of the most famous and beautiful of all Buddhist icons in Japan (fig. 4.3 left). Controversy has raged concerning the origins of this triad, with some scholars arguing that it was the original icon of Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji and others maintaining that it was made for Heijōkyō Yakushiji in the early Nara period. I consider the latter theory to be more likely, which means that the great Yakushiji triad cannot be employed directly in imagining the appearance of the Fujiwarakyō triad. Nevertheless, in terms of scale and general form it seems reasonable to think that it is a more advanced version of the seventh-century icon.[20]

Of course, the survival of an ancient structure, the east pagoda at Heijōkyō Yakushiji, also provides a tantalizing piece of evidence, but just as in the case of the present Yakushi triad, the most likely possibility is that this building was constructed at the new location early in the Nara period (fig. 4.3 right). This topic will be discussed in more detail in the Conclusion.[21]



Fig. 4.2. Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji (above) and Heijōkyō Yakushiji (right)



A good deal of information is available concerning the history of the first Yakushiji. *Nihon shoki* informs us that Tenmu vowed it on 680.11.12 to pray for the recovery of his consort, Princess Uno.[22] This appears to be the first occurrence of a proper Buddhist name for a temple in Japan, for earlier temples were all referred to by geographical designations (Daikan-





Fig. 4.3. Yakushiji, Nara: Yakushi triad (left); east pagoda (right)

daiji is an exception, although its name, Great Official Great Temple, is not specifically Buddhist).[23] There is no direct evidence concerning the construction process of Yakushiji, and the temple does not appear in documentary sources again until a *Nihon shoki* entry of 688.1.8 states that a "great limitless meeting" (*musha daie*) was held at the temple on that day.[24] While two entries seven years apart may seem like a very limited amount of documentation, it is considerably more than exists for many key temples, such as Kawaradera.

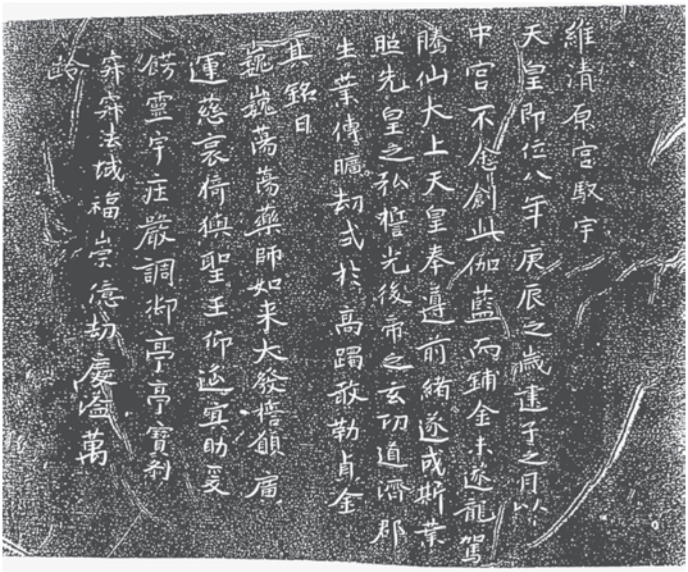
Some additional information about the early history of the temple is provided by the *satsu* inscription of the Heijōkyō Yakushiji's east pagoda, although the explication of this text is fraught with problems.[25] The inscription first provides the reason why the temple was built and then gives the date when it was conceived: Tenmu's consort was ill, so he vowed the temple in the eighth year after his accession.[26] While this is straightforward and corresponds with the *Nihon shoki* account, the next clause (鋪金未遂龍駕騰仙) is difficult to understand, with the result that various explanations have been suggested (fig. 4.4). One interpretation accepted by some scholars is based on a literal translation: "Tenmu died (龍駕騰仙) at a time when the land of the temple was not yet determined." In this case the word *fukin* (鋪金) is seen as referring to land, deriving from the term *fukin* (布金) associated with the property bought for the Gion shōja (祇園精舎) of Shaka, the historical Buddha.[27] Following from this, the next two

characters (未遂) are seen as meaning that the land for the temple had not yet been determined at the time of Tenmu's death (686.9.9).[28]

Strong arguments have been directed against this theory, based primarily on the fact that if a *musha daie* could be held at Yakushiji on 688.1.8, only fifteen months after Tenmu's death, it is inconceivable that a temple for which land had not yet been selected could be completed to the extent that an important ceremony could be performed there so soon. An alternate hypothesis maintains that *fukin* refers not just to the land itself, but to the temple as a whole, leading to the interpretation: "At the time of Tenmu's death, the temple was not completed." Certainly this seems more plausible, especially compared with a scenario where Tenmu vows a temple in 680 and yet the land has not yet been selected six years later.[29]

In attempting to fill the gap between 680 and 688, scholars have focused on the last phase of Tenmu's life.[30] He is reported to have become ill on 686.5.24, and so the *Yakushi Sutra* (*Yakushikyō*) was expounded at Kawaradera and a Buddhist retreat held at the palace on his behalf. Then, on 686.6.10, specialists determined that the illness was caused by a curse of the Kusanagi sword (Kusanagi ken), which was subsequently dispatched to Atsuta Shrine (Atsutasha).[31] Ceremonies for the sake of the monarch were held at various temples and shrines throughout the country, and the priests of the great temples and other religious were rewarded for their efforts. Somewhat ironically, despite all of this ritual activity, although Jitō had recovered from her illness — presumably as a result of her husband's vowing of Yakushiji — Tenmu predeceased her, on 686.9.9. As discussed in Chapter 3, one hundred days after his death (686.12.19) memorial services were held at five temples, Daikandaiji, Asukadera, Kawaradera, Oharida-Toyuradera, and Sakatadera,[32] but there is no mention of any ceremony at Yakushiji. This is somewhat strange, given the close connection of that temple with Tenmu and his consort. One logical possibility is that Yakushiji was not ready for Buddhist ceremonies at this time, which suggests that the 688.1.8 ceremony was performed for the sake of Tenmu at the earliest possible date.[33] Given that, at a minimum, a golden hall and a main icon would be necessary for a proper ritual, it seems plausible to assume that at least these components were available by early 688. Certainly, several years would have been required to cast a monumental icon, do the preliminary work on the temple grounds, and build the golden hall.

Yakushiji had a very impressive plan, with two pagodas placed in front of the golden hall; the golden hall lies on a central north-south axis that goes through the center of the south gate, middle gate, the golden hall itself, and the lecture hall. Probably the most significant new feature of the Yakushiji plan is the symmetrical arrangement of the two pagodas, to the east and west, framing the golden hall; importantly, all of these structures are contained within the roofed corridor. There are a number of parallels



維清原宮馭宇
天皇即位八年庚辰之歳建子之月以
中宮不悆創此伽藍而鋪金未遂龍駕
騰仙大上天皇奉遵前緒遂成斯業
照先皇之弘誓光後帝之玄功道濟郡
生業傳曠劫式(旌)於高躅敢勒貞金
其銘曰
巍巍蕩蕩薬師如来大發誓願廣
運慈哀猗歟聖王仰延冥助爰
餝靈宇莊嚴調御亭亭寶刹
寂寂法城福崇億劫慶溢萬
齡

Fig. 4.4. Yakushiji, Nara: satsu *inscription*

for the two-pagoda format on the Korean peninsula, particularly in Silla, although none are precisely identical with Yakushiji. Sach'ŏnwangsa's plan has paired pagodas, to the left and right of the golden hall, with matching scripture hall and bell tower behind; the lecture hall is embedded in the north side of the roofed corridor (fig. 4.5 above). In the case of Yakushiji, there is adequate space for a sutra hall and bell tower within the roofed corridor, but these structures have not been located.[34] The main difference between the two temples is that while Yakushiji's plan is basically square (referring to the area within the roofed corridor), that of Sach'ŏnwangsa is rectangular, longer on the north-south axis, which results in a different placement of the various halls.

Kamŭnsa also has similarities and differences with Yakushiji, although

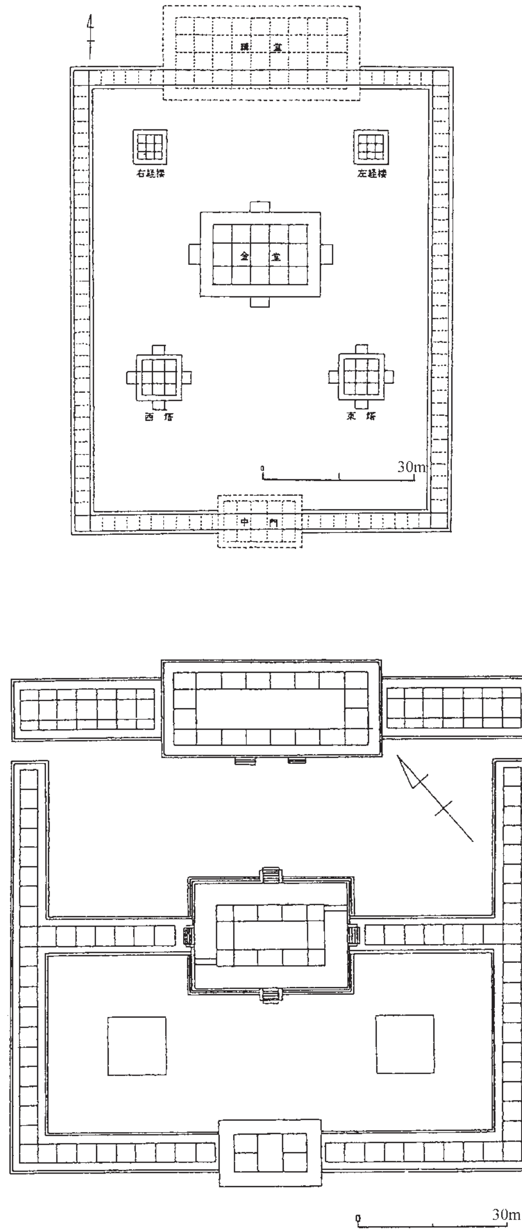


Fig. 4.5. Ground plan comparisons with Silla: Sach'ŏnwangsa (above); Kamŭnsa (below)

in this case I believe the common features are of greater importance (fig. 4.5 below). The Silla temple has the same basically square plan as Yakushiji, which results in a similar placement of halls, with the golden hall very near to the center of the square, thereby leaving less space for the pagodas, which are pushed quite close to the south side of the roofed corridor. In measuring the plan, we find interesting ratios in the placement of buildings at the

two temples: if we use the distance between the centers of the two pagodas as a standard, we can see that this measurement is greater than the north-south length from the center of the golden hall toward the middle gate; in fact, it extends out in front of that gate. Normally, this north-south axis from golden hall to middle gate is considerably longer than the distance between the two pagodas, as can be seen in the Sach'ŏnwangsa. Kamŭnsa and Yakushiji are virtually identical in these ratios, suggesting that they may have a more specific relationship than simply the two-pagoda format.

The most striking difference between the plans of Yakushiji and Kamŭnsa is that Kamŭnsa has its golden hall embedded in an intermediate roofed corridor, in the format we have already seen at Kawaradera. Why is this element lacking at Yakushiji? One possibility is that the architect decided that removing an intermediate roofed corridor that separated the north and south components of the temple would give a greater sense of openness within the square area enclosed by the roofed corridor. As we have noted repeatedly, each of the Four Great Temples has a different ground plan. An additional crucial point about Yakushiji is that it is carefully integrated into the grid system of the new Fujiwara capital. Later we shall consider some quite specific archaeological details concerning this placement, but for the moment it is enough to keep in mind that Yakushiji did, in fact, relate closely to the overall symbolic structure of the new capital.[35]

Historiography

The previous section outlined the standard hypothesis concerning Yakushiji from its vowing in 680 until the ritual for Tenmu in early 688. Although scholars differ on various details, most accept the general validity of this chronology for the earliest years of the temple. There is, however, an additional important issue from this time span: the *Nihon shoki* entry of 680.4 stating that "two or three great temples," as well as Asukadera, deserve government support. The ambiguity of "two or three" has preoccupied scholars for decades, generating extensive publication. In my view, the most satisfactory explanation is that when the edict was promulgated in the fourth month of 680, Yakushiji, which subsequently was ranked as one of the Four Great Temples, had not yet been vowed. Nevertheless, the compilers of *Nihon shoki* obviously were aware of the importance of Yakushiji and perhaps were referring to it obliquely in the formulation.[36] If this hypothesis is accepted, we then arrive at our standard list, Asukadera, Kudara Ōdera, Kawaradera, and Yakushiji. Apart from the problem of the constituent members of the "great temple" group, the 680.4 edict, and another edict of 679.4.5, are of tremendous significance in formulating an adequate conception of the elite patronage of temples in the seventh century, a problem considered in the Conclusion.

In addition to the documentary evidence for the foundation date and early years of Yakushiji, archaeology has offered important clues. In particular, findings from the excavations at the border of the temple have been constantly cited until recently as evidence for the pre-Fujiwarakyō dating of Yakushiji (fig. 4.6). In 1976 the southwest corner of the temple grounds was investigated, with the assumption that the intersection of Eighth Great Street and West Third Great Avenue would be found.[37] This turned out to be the case, as was demonstrated by the drainage ditches always placed at either side of the roads. Surprisingly, an additional ditch was discovered, some distance east of West Great Third Avenue, and even more surprisingly, it was found to contain roof tiles from the earliest stage of Yakushiji; these tiles roofed the golden hall, generally thought to have been the first building constructed. The interpretation given in the report, one long accepted, was that this enigmatic ditch was earlier than those flanking the roads; naturally if that ditch contained roof tiles from Yakushiji, work on the temple had to have commenced prior to the laying out of the Fujiwarakyō roads. However, later excavations at the middle gate, to be discussed presently, make it clear that the earliest grid structure for the roads of Fujiwarakyō was *below* the lowest level of the middle gate. The full implications of this discovery are important not only for the history of Yakushiji, but also for that of the new capital.

After 688 there is another gap in the historical documentation for Yakushiji of almost a decade. Two *Nihon shoki* entries of 697 refer to the making of an icon or icons, but we will delay discussion of them until we consider the whole problem of Yakushiji images. *Nihon shoki* ends in 697, but there is a continuation in the second national history, *Shoku Nihongi*. That text, in an entry of 698.10.4, states that Yakushiji was largely complete and that monks were ordered to move in.[38] What "largely complete" implies will be of concern later, but we can assume that in the course of some nineteen years most of the structures and related icons were ready. As we noted with other seventh-century temples, a time span of twenty years for construction is by no means unusual. Related to this are two entries of 701: that of 6.11 tells of the appointment of two officials, Hata no Mukobe and Kosobe no Yamamaro, to an official agency, the Construction Office for Yakushiji (*zō Yakushiji tsukasa*), to supervise building activities, and a second of 7.27 states the ranks to be given to various construction offices and supervisors, including those at Daianji (= Daikandaiji at this date) and Yakushiji.[39] Therefore, while a large part of the temple does seem to have been complete by ca. 700, work apparently continued after that year. In any case, the establishment of this bureau must be analyzed in terms of the promulgation of the 701 Taihō Code (Taihō ritsuryō) and the effort to bring various agencies into conformity with the new legal and bureaucratic system.[40]

During the reign of Genmei, the capital was transferred from Fuji-

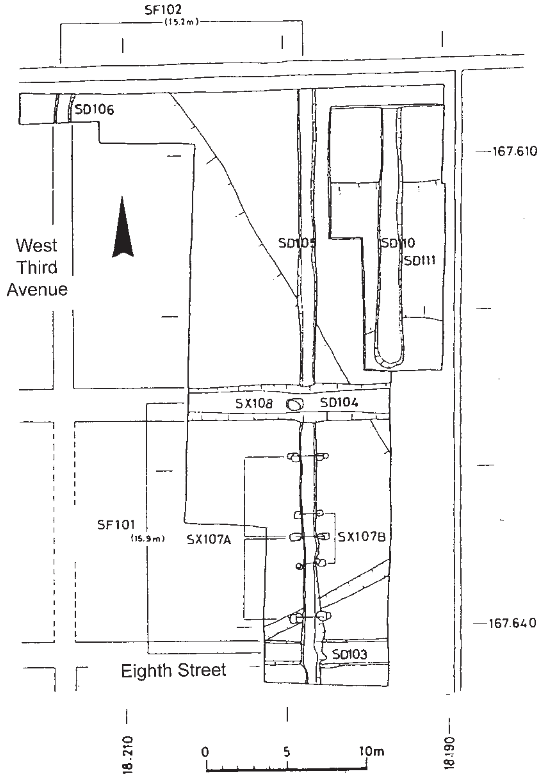


Fig. 4.6. Excavation plan, southwest corner

warakyō to the newly established Heijōkyō (710), and Yakushiji, like Asukadera and Kudara Ōdera (= Daikandaiji), was also transferred. *Yakushiji engi*, a Heian text dated to 1015, states that the temple was moved in 718, but a *mokkan* bearing a date of 716 has been discovered at the Heijō site that suggests work at this location began not too long after 710.[41] Another Heian text, *Fusō ryakki* states that work began on the east pagoda of Heijō Yakushiji in 730.[42] Given the chronologies that we have studied thus far, that would seem to be an appropriate date for the completion of one component of such a large-scale temple complex. Moreover, there are scattered references to Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji in Heian sources, indicating that the temple was still functioning in its original location as late as the early twelfth century.[43]

Buildings

Golden hall

Since much of the golden hall is now under the present structure occupying the site, detailed excavation is difficult; nevertheless, the archaeologists

were able to locate remains of the rainwater gutter (*amaochi mizo*) and the dog walk (*inubashiri*) as well as an earth covering stone (*jifuku ishi*) made of tuff (*gyōkaigan*) (figs. 4.7, 4.8, 4.9). Also found was a *mimi ishi*, a component of the stairway. It was determined that there are eighteen column foundation stones preserved more or less in their original locations, while three others were found that had been moved elsewhere (figs. 4.10, 4.11).[44] Based on the placement of the intact foundation stones, and the closely related layout of the Heijō Yakushiji golden hall, archaeologists reconstructed the Fujiwara golden hall into an arrangement of eight column stones by five for the *hisashi* and six stones by three for the *moya*; it is assumed that the column spans of the *hisashi* were equal to those of Heijō Yakushiji, which results in a seven-bay by four-bay configuration for that structure and a five-bay by two-bay arrangement for the *moya*.[45] No foundation stones relevant for a *mokoshi* have been discovered, which may suggest that this structure was not present at Fujiwara Yakushiji even though there was one at Heijō; however, the fact that there were both large and small roof tiles for the golden hall strongly indicates that there was, in fact, a *mokoshi*.[46] In addition, there appear to have been three staircases at the front (= south) and one each at the other three sides, the same as at Heijō. The golden hall of Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji was 29.5 m × 18.2 m, while the equivalent structure at Heijō was 29.4 m × 18.3 m, for all practical purposes identical dimensions. Minor differences in construction, such as the breadth of the rainwater gutters, can be seen in the two sites although these too seem of very limited importance.[47]

Middle gate and south roofed corridor

The 1993 excavations of the middle gate, the first large-scale campaign within the temple proper, yielded significant information, some quite unexpected (fig. 4.12). No surface traces of the middle gate and south roofed corridor were visible, but on the basis of the measurements of the Heijō Yakushiji plan the archaeologists began excavating at an equivalent distance south of the golden hall at Fujiwara and found the middle gate and the roofed corridor exactly in the expected location. Of course, the middle gate originally had column foundation stones, but these were all lost, and only the traces of the cavities where they had been placed remained. Compensating to some extent for the loss of the foundation stones was the relatively well-preserved dressing around the perimeter of the gate, including some of the facing of the platform, the *inubashiri*, 1.2 m wide, and the rainwater gutter, 60 cm wide. This evidence allowed an accurate reconstruction of the overall dimensions of the middle gate.[48]

The middle gate was a three-bay by two-bay structure, 16.3 m × 8.9 m at the platform and 13.9 m × 6.5 m for the gate proper.[49] A door was placed in the central bay, which was 5 m wide, while the two flanking bays were

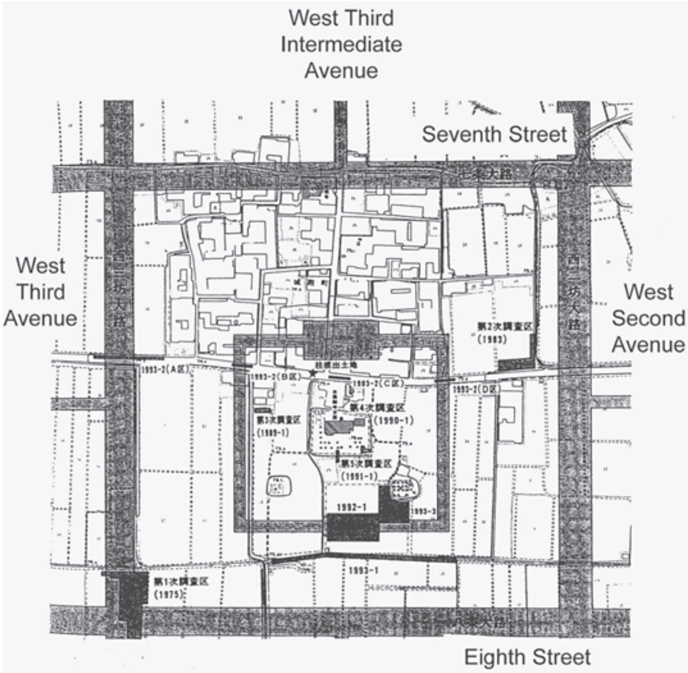


Fig. 4.7. Temple plan with Fujiwarakyō streets

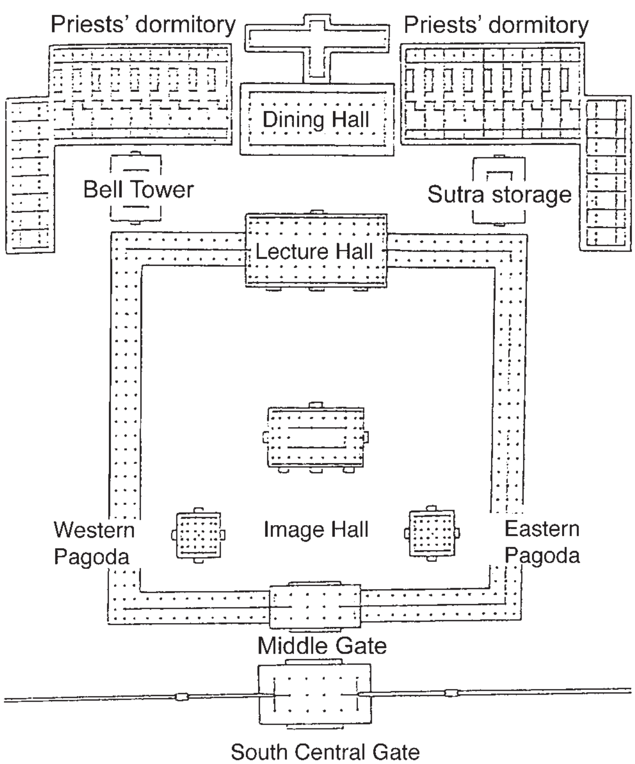


Fig. 4.8. Reconstructed plan of Heijōkyō Yakushiji

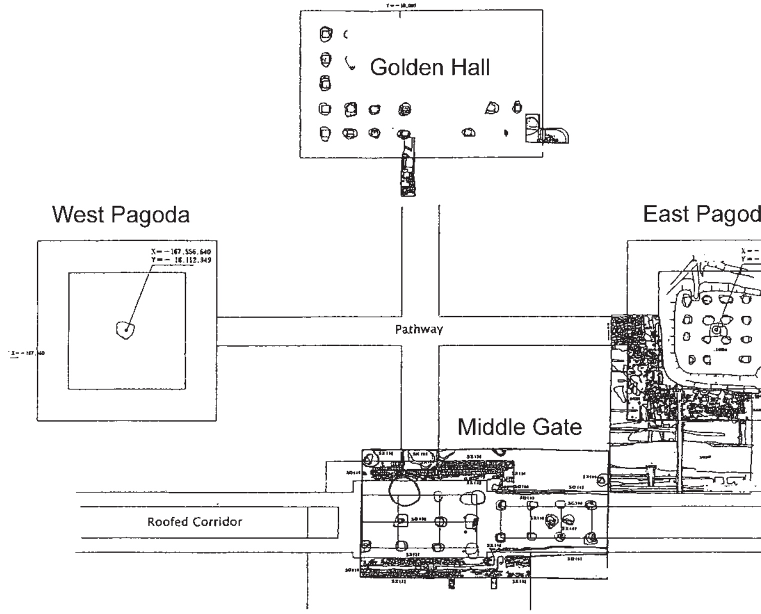




Fig. 4.9. (Above) Plan of excavations

Fig. 4.10. (Right) Golden hall, foundation stones

slightly smaller, at about 4.43 m in width. Particularly important results were achieved in the excavation of the Fujiwarakyō middle gate, since it was determined that it was smaller than the middle gate at Heijō Yakushiji (fig. 4.13). At Heijō the middle gate was a five-bay by two-bay structure, somewhat more impressive than the smaller gate at the original temple. Similarly, while the roofed corridor at Fujiwara had columns at either side only (*tanrō*), at Heijō there was also a central column within the structure (*fukurō*).[50] I surmise that these adjustments were made in order to bring the

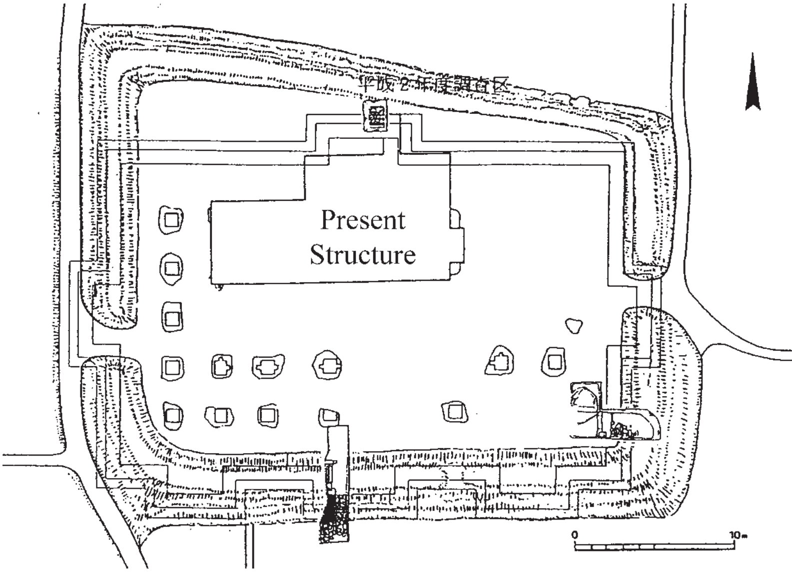


Fig. 4.11. (Left) Golden hall, foundation stones with present structure

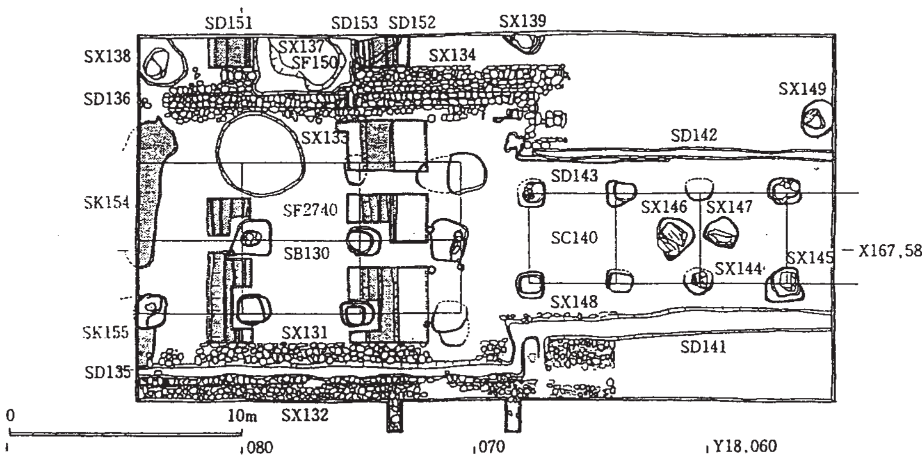


Fig. 4.12. (Below) Middle gate, excavations

new temple up to the highest current standards. (Note that Heijō Yakushiji originally had simple corridors that were only later made complex.) The Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji's roofed corridor was 7.1 m wide and the distance between the columns was 3.7 m.

Excavations of the middle gate continued to a lower level, resulting in the discovery of the traces of one of the Fujiwarakyō roads, specifically West Third Intermediate Avenue.[51] This avenue, running north-south, was directly under the central axis of the gate, which indicates how carefully the planning of the temple was coordinated with the pre-existing road system. The avenue continued north under the pathway and presumably also lay under the golden hall, although this has not yet been determined.

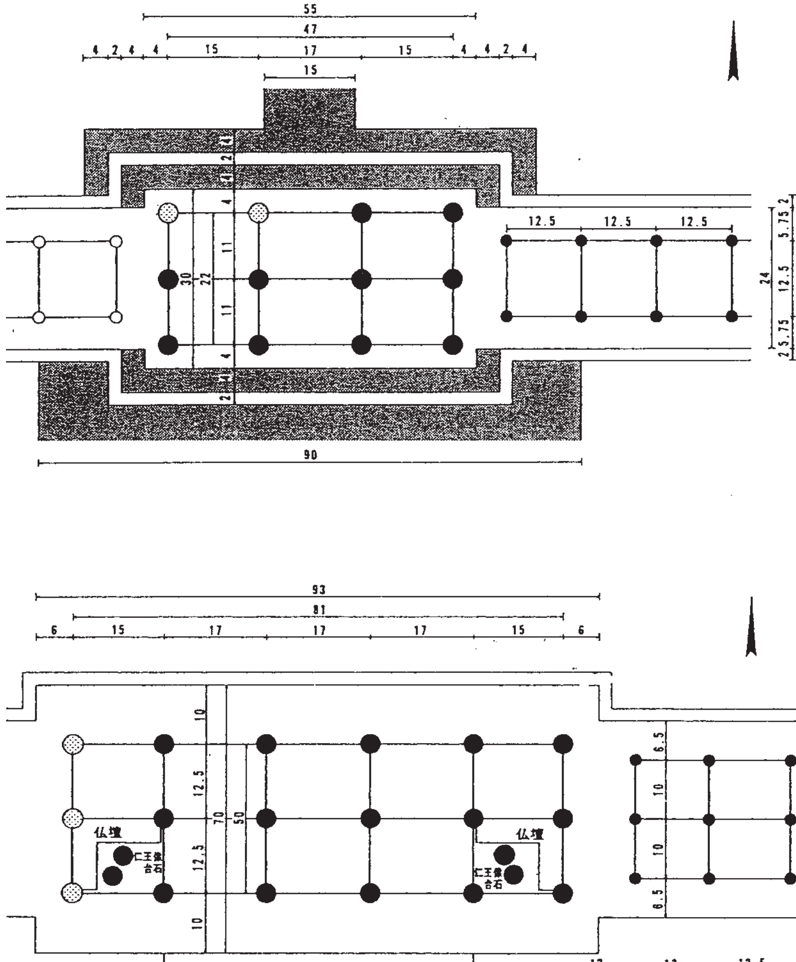


Fig. 4.13. Comparisons of plans of middle gate: Fujiwarakyō (above), Heijōkyō (below)

Pathways

Quite extraordinary results were achieved in the excavation of the pathways in 1995 (fig. 4.14). One pathway, of course, ran north-south, between the golden hall and the middle gate, while the other ran east-west between the two pagodas. The north-south pathway, which was 4.3 m (15 *shaku*) wide, had relatively small paving stones and would appear to have been made first. The east-west pathway, 3.4 m (12 *shaku*) wide, was paved with larger stones and was certainly made after the north-south pathway (fig. 4.9).

Archaeologists discovered a pit overlapping the east-west pathway in an area between the north-south pathway and the east pagoda that contained a substantial deposit of material (SX277, 280). This included a large quantity of discarded tiles, thought to have been placed there in connection

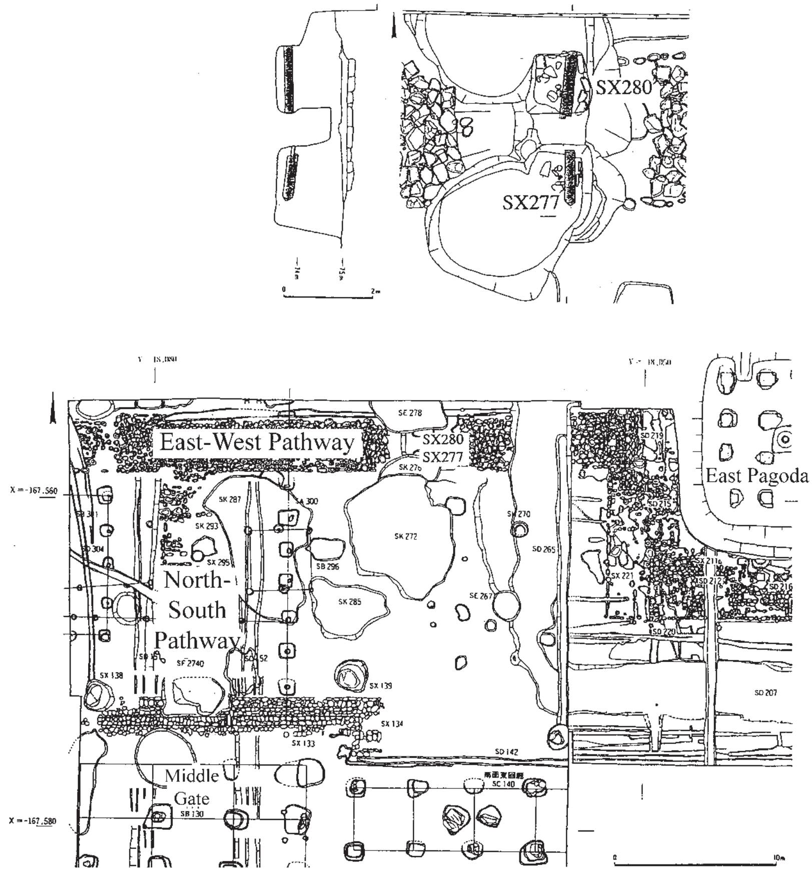


Fig. 4.14. Pathways, excavations

with a reroofing campaign at the golden hall, and four wooden boards that were originally architectural elements. These boards have been dated to the year 695 on the basis of dendrochronology, a date that is significant in the chronological sequence of the temples.[52]

East pagoda

The platform of the east pagoda is clearly visible rising above the level of the fields (fig. 4.15).[53] It was 16 m east-west by 13 m north-south and was originally approximately 1 m tall. A large heart stone, 1.7 m × 2.1 m, with a receptacle for relics, was placed near the top of the platform. Surrounding the heart stone were the foundation stones for four supporting pillars to buttress the central pillar. Twelve column foundation stones made of granite were placed around the edge of the pagoda; of these only one is now missing and two are broken in half, but they are all generally in their original locations.

In 1994 the south-west sector of the east pagoda was excavated; the siding

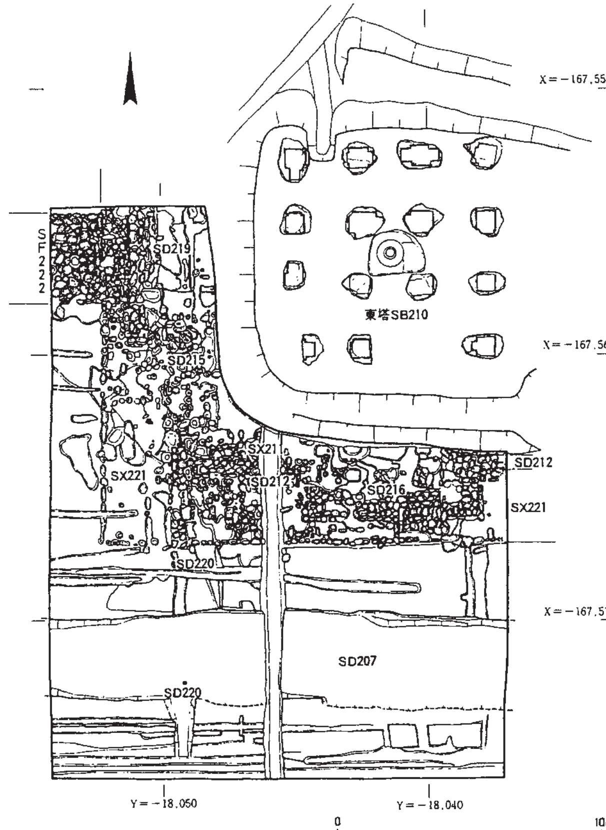


Fig. 4.15.
East pagoda, excavations (above), foundation stones (below)



was not preserved, but its overall form can be reconstructed. More information was available for the outer area, where the *inubashiri* and the rainwater gutters were clearly visible. Interestingly, the dimensions of these two elements were almost identical to those of Heijō Yakushiji, in contrast to the slight variations seen in the respective golden halls. The excavation of this area also revealed the east-west pathway that extended to the west pagoda.[54]

West pagoda

Perhaps the most important results of the excavations at Yakushiji, at least from a historical perspective, were those carried out at the west pagoda (fig. 4.16). Its platform, like that of its twin, is clearly visible and was originally 1.5 m high; the platform is 15 m east-west and 13.5 m north-south in overall dimensions. The granite heart stone, currently slightly south of the central point of the pagoda, is 2.1 m in diameter and 0.9 m at its thickest point; a projecting tenon can be seen at its top surface. Excavations carried out in 1996 concentrated on the southeast quadrant of the west pagoda, and it was determined that the platform proper was 12.7 m sq; this size is approximately 1–1.5 m smaller than its mate, the east pagoda, and the west pagoda at Heijō Yakushiji. The archaeologists also noted that the construction of the Fujiwara west pagoda was not as fine as that of other structures at this temple. For example, the *hanchiku* was not of high quality, and there was no *horikomi jigyō*. The *jifuku ishi* was granite, while the *hame ishi* and *kazura ishi* were tuff. Some elements of the stairway at the east side were found, including *mimi ishi* and a stepping-stone (*fumi ishi*). Also located were the *inubashiri* and the rainwater gutters.[55]

Although we will discuss the roof tiles in more detail later, I would like to mention that the tile analysis has clearly revealed that the west pagoda at Fujiwarakyō was built after the other structures there, probably early in the Nara period. Needless to say, this evidence proves that there were two temples called Yakushiji functioning simultaneously in the Nara and later periods.

Other structures

A great deal of work still needs to be done at Fujiwara Yakushiji. The position and nature of the lecture hall has not been clarified because there are modern houses over its presumed location. The same can be said for the priests' quarters, which are also presumed to be to the north. In addition, more work is necessary on the roofed corridor, the south gate, and the roofed mud wall that must have surrounded the entire compound. Archaeologists have perhaps not felt the same degree of urgency as elsewhere, since in the case of Yakushiji, it is possible to hypothesize the layout and forms of the halls at Fujiwarakyō on the basis of what has been determined in the excavations of the Heijōkyō site.

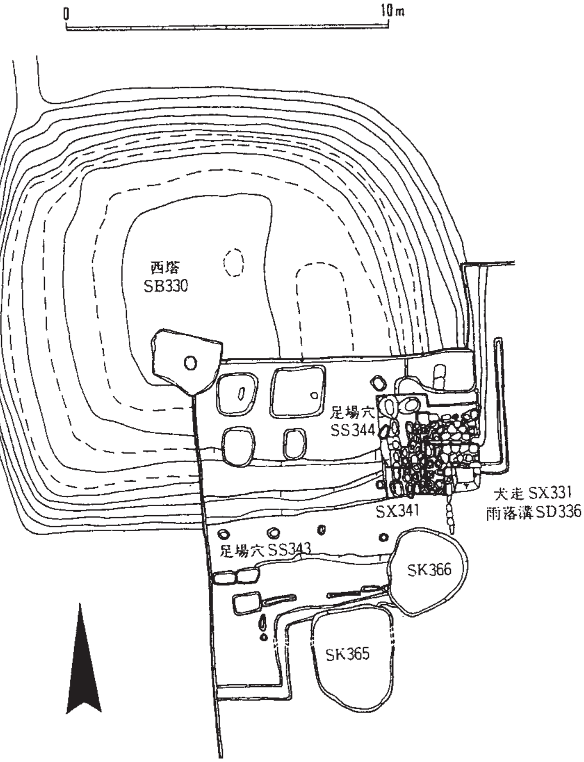


Fig. 4.16. West pagoda, excavations: plan (right), site (below)



Tiles

In the course of this study we have seen the development of roof tiles, especially in the round eave-end category (*nokimaru gawara*), from the simplicity at Asukadera (figs. 1.18, 1.19) to the gradually increasing complexity at Kudara Ōdera (figs. 2.25, 2.26, 2.27) and then on to Kawaradera (fig. 3.14), as more elements were added to the design. Not surprisingly, this development continues with the tiles of Yakushiji, which can be thought of, in some sense, as a culmination of the process (fig. 4.17). Beyond aesthetics, however, there are other extremely important issues associated with the Yakushiji tiles: first, they have a direct linkage with the tiles of the Fujiwara palace (the first tiled palace in Japan), and second, there is an intricate relationship between the tiles of Fujiwarakyō and Heijōkyō Yakushiji that has great chronological significance.[56]

Extremely important results have been achieved by Hanatani Hiroshi in the analysis of the foundation period roof tiles of both the Fujiwarakyō and Heijōkyō temples. He considers Heijōkyō tiles first because that temple has been more fully studied and thus establishes a sound foundation for discussion of the Fujiwarakyō tiles.[57] The extant east pagoda tiles are associated with a three-story pagoda with three intermediate roofs (*mokoshi*); naturally, this results in sets of larger and smaller tiles (fig. 4.18). This can be seen clearly in the sets for the main roof and for the smaller (*mokoshi*) roof; in both sets the round eave-end tile has a complex design: a central zone with a 1:5:9 seed arrangement; eight petals with doubled new leaves; a pearling band; and an outer border of zig-zag decoration. The pearling band is a new element. The flat eave-end tiles have a pearling upper border and a zig-zag lower border, framing a *karakusa* zone in high relief.

Significant differences can be noted among the tiles utilized for the various buildings at Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji. In the case of the golden hall, a deposit of tiles consisting of twenty-five round eave-end tiles and twenty-seven flat eave-end tiles provides important material for analysis; their variety leads to a quite complicated situation (fig. 4.19). Some of these Fujiwarakyō golden hall roof tiles are essentially the same as those at the Heijō temple, but others are different, most strikingly in the occurrence of a "single new petal" over the main petal. While this is generally an earlier trait, as was found in the Kudara Ōdera tile, in the present case all the other elements relate to the other Yakushiji tiles (multi-seeds, pearling band, zig-zag border). Nevertheless, Hanatani argues that this type precedes the doubled new-petal type at the foundation period in Fujiwarakyō. Certainly the presence of both single new-leaf and double new-leaf tiles is unusual.[58]

The east pagoda, middle gate, and roofed corridor can be considered as a unit. All three have round and flat eave-end tiles related to those of the golden hall. In addition, the pagoda has the same type for the *mokoshi* (of



Fig. 4.17. Round and flat eave-end tiles

course, the others did not have a *mokoshi*).[59] However, in distinction to the golden hall, these structures did not have the single new-leaf tile that was, presumably, the earlier type. Naturally, the flat eave-end tiles of the three structures also echo those of the golden hall, and they have "right-leaning *karakusa* ornament" (*uhenkō karakusa mon*). In a complicated analysis, Hanatani suggests that this tile was the model for the flat eave-end tile at the Heijōkyō palace.[60]

In many respects, the most striking results achieved in recent excavations are those associated with the west pagoda; as noted in the discussion of the plan of Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji, there have been no particular surprises as to the locations and general forms of the principal buildings. The surprise here was the complicated mix of tile types, some of rather peculiarly low quality given the extraordinarily high status of the temple (figs. 4.20, 4.21). Hanatani has provided a very complex analysis of the tiles found at the west pagoda site and I refer the reader to his articles for the details.[61]

For the main roof there are examples of the same round eave-end tile noted in the other buildings, but in addition there are others that were made from a mold that was badly worn, suggesting it had been in use for some time. Hanatani concludes that there were three varieties of round eave-end tiles for the main roof and a similar variety for the small roof (*mokoshi*).

How should the mixture of older and newer tile types be interpreted? Hanatani outlines two possibilities. In the first, since the east pagoda does





Fig. 4.18. Hei-jōkyō east pagoda tiles: main roof (above), small roof (below)

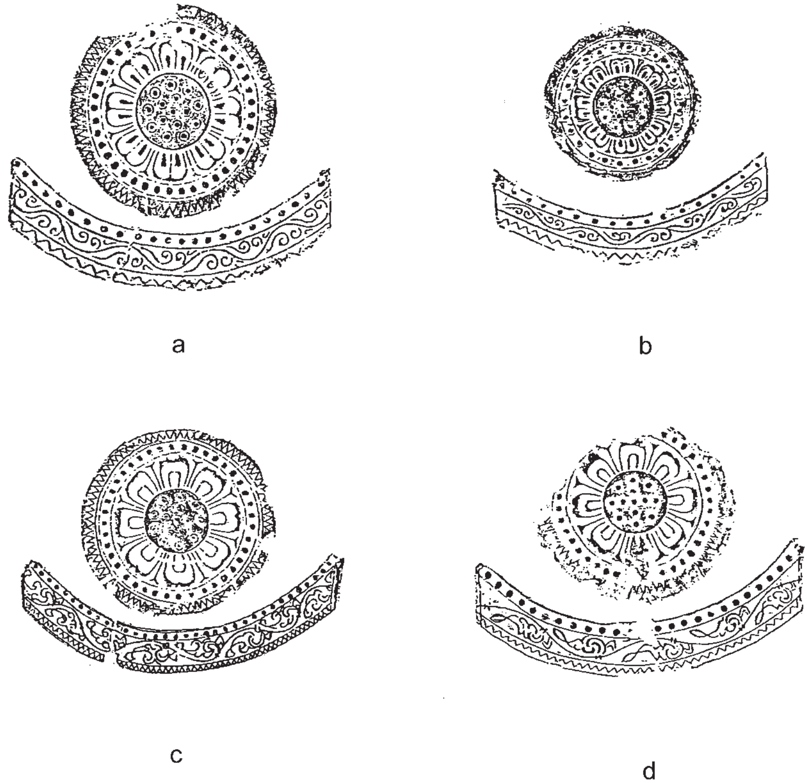


Fig. 4.19. Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji golden hall tiles: a. main roof (6276–Aa, 6641–C), b. main roof (6121–A, 6647–G), c. small roof (6276–E, 6641–I), d. small roof (6121–Ba,Bc, 6647–Cb,Cc,)

not have this variety of tiles, we may perhaps assume that the west pagoda could have been extensively retiled at one stage or even rebuilt at the time of the move. The second would have the west pagoda built considerably later than the other structures at the temple. Hanatani argues strongly that there were two, sequential phases of tile production for the west pagoda, with the older type used as long as it was available and then the newer, but less fine, type employed to finish off the work. In other words, when the supply of the very fine Hakuhō tiles was exhausted, new tiles had to be made, but at a time when the temple had substantially fewer resources. This is a matter having important chronological implications.

Chronology of the Buildings

Considerable debate has occurred about the chronology of building at Yakushiji, and although we have some important evidence, the actual sequence will presumably never be entirely clear. Drawing on the evidence that does exist, I would like to offer at least a tentative chronology, fully recognizing the need for caution. Tenmu vowed the temple toward the end of 680 in hopes of the recovery of his sick consort. As it turned out,

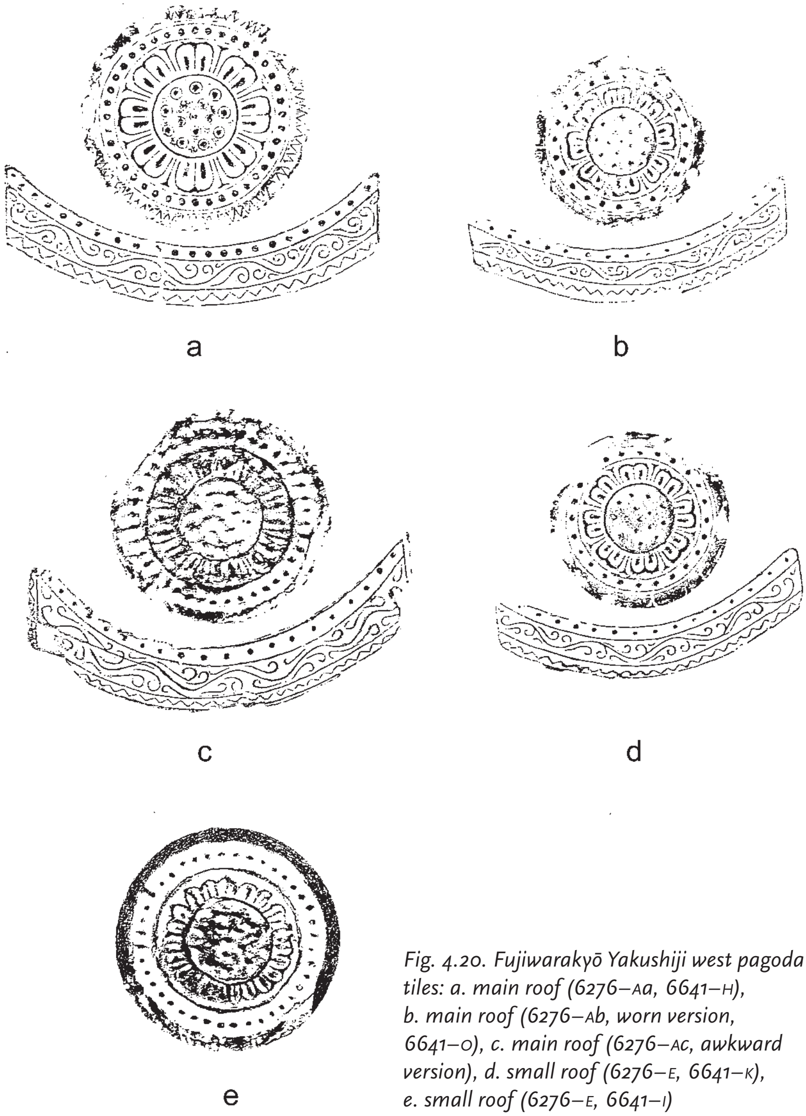


Fig. 4.20. Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji west pagoda tiles: a. main roof (6276–Aa, 6641–H), b. main roof (6276–Ab, worn version, 6641–O), c. main roof (6276–Ac, awkward version), d. small roof (6276–E, 6641–K), e. small roof (6276–E, 6641–I)

she did recover, but he died, so that the initial major ceremony, conducted at the very beginning of 688, was in memory of Tenmu himself. The immediate problem is to determine what was transpiring between 681 and 687, almost exactly six years; while speculation is inevitable here, I believe a plausible chronology can be formulated. Of crucial importance, of course, is planning and site preparation, a process that usually took at least a year or two; simultaneously foundation stones would be collected and finished and the necessary lumber gathered and dried, perhaps requiring two years; from about the same time intensive tile production must have com-

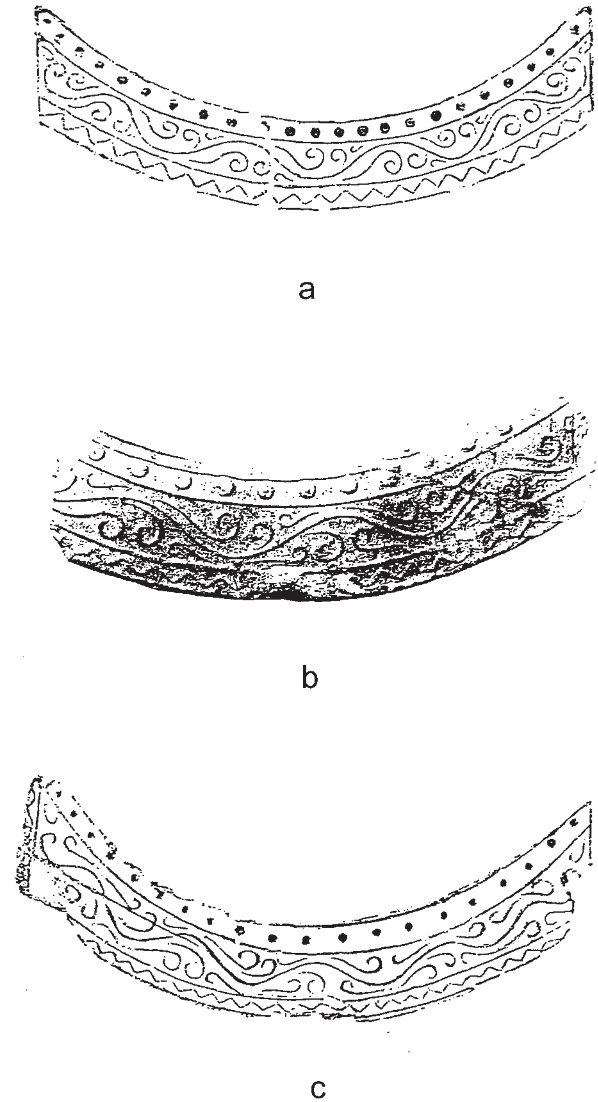


Fig. 4.21. Fujiwara-kyō Yakushiji west pagoda flat eave-end tiles: a. 6641–H, b. 6641–G, c. 6641–O

menced. Assuming that work began immediately after Tenmu's vow, actual above-ground construction could not have begun until ca. 683–684. Since a major building usually required three to four years of work, the period 683/4–687 appears adequate for the completion of the golden hall, which then would be ready for the 688.1.8 ceremony. Parallel with the erection of the golden hall would be the casting of a monumental gilt-bronze Yakushi triad, a project requiring at least five years. As noted earlier, the idea that the golden hall and the Yakushi triad were ready for the 688.1.8 ceremony is quite plausible.

The presence of West Third Intermediate Avenue passing under the

central axis of the middle gate and the north-south pathway and presumably continuing through the central axis of the golden hall may provide additional evidence for dating.[62] In the gutters at both sides of this road, pottery classified as Asuka IV phase was discovered, a phase that is congruent with the late Tenmu or very early Jitō period. (No Asuka V phase pottery was discovered.)[63]

A flat eave-end tile from the foundation phase of the golden hall served as model for two types used at the Fujiwara palace. Since one of the latter was found in association with a late Tenmu period *mokkan*, obviously its prototype at the temple had to be earlier. Other flat eave-end tiles from the temple appear to be based on types first seen at the palace. All of these data indicate a very close connection between the foundation-period tiles at Yakushiji and the old-style tiles of the Fujiwara palace. As the palace was begun before the end of the Tenmu reign, obviously work must have begun at Yakushiji about the same time. This argument, based on tile forms, conforms closely to the supposition that at least a golden hall and a main icon were ready for Tenmu's memorial service at the temple on 688.1.8.

Observations about the lecture hall cannot be concrete because it has not been located and excavated; nevertheless, we may logically assume that it was made after the golden hall, perhaps between 688 and 692, allowing about four years for completion. Of course, 692 relates to the donation by Jitō *tennō* of an embroidered icon, a type most appropriate for the long, relatively narrow plan of a lecture hall. (Although perhaps overly speculative, it is likely that construction of the priests' quarters would be undertaken at this time in order to accommodate what would have been a large number of temple priests.)

Work on the middle gate and the roofed corridor probably began in the later 680s, and presumably they required about three or four years for a possible completion date of ca. 690–691. At this juncture, however, we encounter difficulties attempting to date precisely the middle gate and roofed corridor; regardless of the exact order of construction, the most likely scenario is that golden hall (with main icon), lecture hall (with embroidered icon), middle gate, and roofed corridor were all in place by around 693–695, leaving only the dates of the east and west pagodas to establish.

The *Shoku Nihongi* entry of 698 stating that the temple was largely complete presumably referred to all of the principal structures, including the east pagoda (but not the west pagoda, to be considered next). One clue to the date of the east pagoda is the group of wooden boards discovered next to the pathways quite near to the east pagoda; these have been dated to the year 695 on the basis of dendrochronological analysis. The problem is to determine which building they were associated with. Although it has been proposed that they may have been connected with the lecture hall, this seems unlikely, given the dating arguments presented above. Clearly, the

most likely candidate is the east pagoda, leading then to a broad construction phase for that building of ca. 694/5 to 698.

Perhaps the most exciting result of recent excavations at Yakushiji relate to the west pagoda; here I speak not of superlative construction but rather to the historical significance of the chronological position of this pagoda. As we saw, there is compelling evidence that it was built not in the Hakuhō period, but during the following Nara period, *after* the capital had been transferred from Fujiwarakyō to Heijōkyō. The implications of this are stunning in that they demonstrate that work continued on Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji in tandem with the construction of the new Heijōkyō temple. Apparently work continued at the Fujiwarakyō temple much longer than has previously been assumed. With regard to the *Shoku Nihongi* statement of 698 that the temple was "largely complete," the fact that the west pagoda had not yet been built is not a serious problem; the same situation can be seen at Monmu Daikandaiji.[64] Even when the plan envisioned two pagodas, numerous factors may have hindered the realization of the entire project, at least in the short term.

As a result of his study of the tiles and other evidence, Hanatani postulates the following sequence for construction:

1. Golden hall (late Tenmu period)
2. Lecture hall (date uncertain, perhaps soon after golden hall)
3. Middle gate and roofed corridor (Jitō period)
4. East pagoda (around 695–698)
5. West pagoda (early Nara period).[65]

Since this building sequence is congruent with the few pieces of documentary evidence available, that further excavation will require significant alteration is highly unlikely.

Icons

As was the case with Kudara Ōdera, only documentary records survive for the icons of Yakushiji, at least if we conclude that the present Heijōkyō Yakushi triad is a Nara rather than Hakuhō monument. Since the Fujiwarakyō temple was vowed for the sake of the ill consort, it goes without saying that the main icon would be Yakushi, the Medicine Buddha, in accordance with the name of the temple and its specific function. Another reasonable assumption would be that it was a triad, given the scale of the golden hall. In considering the possible appearance of this monument, the best source of information would seem to be the Kōfukuji Buddha Head, all that survives in good condition of the Yakushi triad originally housed in the lecture hall of Yamadadera.[66] The Yamadadera triad was cast between

678 and 685, a normal length of time for a large-scale monument as we noted in discussion of the main icon of Asukadera, so it is quite reasonable to suggest that an important image such as the Yakushiji triad could have taken from 681 or slightly later until early 688 to complete.

Yakushiji was certainly the most significant temple of its period, making it only natural that it would have possessed a supremely impressive icon to match the status and scale of the temple itself. In that regard, although little definite can be said, we can plausibly argue that the style of the Yakushi may have been similar to that of the Kōfukuji Buddha Head, and presumably the two monuments also would have been closely related in technique. Much debate has occurred concerning the present gilt-bronze flanking bodhisattvas of the east golden hall of Kōfukuji, primarily because of their bad condition and many awkward repairs. Although their original form is not crucial for the present topic, I believe that they probably have a core component remaining from the original, Yamadadera triad.[67] We can recall from Chapter 3 that Yamadadera was a Soga clan temple, begun in the early 640s, but terminated after Soga Ishikawa Maro died in 649. Work resumed after the capital returned from Ōtsu to Asuka. The three daughters of Ishikawa Maro all occupied positions of power and would have been well situated to patronize the incomplete temple, particularly the pagoda, the lecture hall, and the latter's icon.[68] All of this indicates that royal patronage of the two triads — Yakushiji and Yamadadera — was closely related, which again reinforces the idea that the former was at least as beautiful, and perhaps more so, than the latter.

In 692 Jitō vowed to donate an embroidered Amida to Yakushiji for the sake of the "previous emperor," her late husband, Tenmu.[69] The most likely place for such an icon would be the lecture hall, a structure that was presumably being built around this time. There is a second documentary reference to what must be the same Amida embroidery, dated 698.11.15, stating that the famous monk Dōshō was appointed to perform the eye-opening ceremony for the icon (*kaigen*).[70] Although five or six years seems a rather lengthy period to produce an embroidered icon, perhaps it was extremely large. Certainly a large-scale image would be most appropriate for such a grand temple.

Some attention should be devoted to the temple's iconography. The most natural assumption would be that the Yakushi triad in the golden hall was originally intended for healing, whereas the Amida embroidery might have been associated with the Western Paradise of Amida, a belief system that was becoming increasingly prominent during the last decades of the seventh century.

The two 697 entries in *Nihon shoki* have been the subject of controversy for decades. *Nihon shoki*, in 697.6.26, records: "The Ministers and public

functionaries began to make votive images (*shogan butsuzō*) of Buddha for the sake of the Empress." Although that entry does not refer specifically to Yakushiji, in a second entry, of 697 (697.7.29), *Nihon shoki* states: "The Ministers and public functionaries prepared a festival for the eye-opening of Buddha images at Yakushiji."[71] Most scholars agree that the two entries are from one cycle and thus should be read as sequential events; there is, however, little agreement as to what icons are meant. A few days after the eye-opening ceremony, on 697.8.1, Jitō abdicated in favor of her grandson, who reigned as Monmu.[72] Although it has been suggested that the icon referred to in these entries is the monumental sixteen-foot (*jōroku*), gilt-bronze Yakushi triad presently in Nara Yakushiji, that seems clearly impossible since such a major undertaking could not have been completed in as short a period as a month.[73] Moreover, as mentioned above, the ceremony held on 688.1.8 implies the existence of a main icon, so any icon or icons completed in the summer of 697 would have had to have been different ones. Given the size of this temple complex, there is a distinct possibility that the 697 entries refer to icons for structures other than the golden hall and lecture hall.

Remaining structures to be considered, of course, are the east and west pagodas. Naturally, here too there is no specific evidence extant, but it is not unlikely that the Fujiwarakyō temple had tableaus similar to those of Heijōkyō Yakushiji.[74] Such an arrangement is now most beautifully preserved at the four sides of the pagoda of Hōryūji; the exact chronology of the Hōryūji figures is controversial, but they are probably slightly later than those of the east pagoda of Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji and a little earlier than any that may have been made for the Nara-period west pagoda.[75] Following the argument made repeatedly above, the extraordinary status of Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji would have meant that the finest icons would have been available for installation there.

Conclusion

We have now considered many of the important aspects of Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji, although much more remains to be done before a fully articulated picture of the temple is possible. Nevertheless, perhaps it is appropriate to step back for a moment and try, at least tentatively, to place Yakushiji within an appropriate context.

I suggest that the most significant feature of the temple from a general historical perspective is its siting within the strict grid structure of Fujiwarakyō, the new, full-scale, continental-style capital. For that reason, I have devoted considerable attention to the issue to ensure a clear understanding of the factors that make this conclusion plausible; stated simply,

there can no longer be any question about the placement of Yakushiji in relation to the streets and avenues of the Fujiwara capital. In that respect alone, Yakushiji can be seen as one important element of this new concept of the proper structure for capital, palace, and principal temples.[76]

Although I have reviewed the ground plans of the Four Great Temples several times already and will take them up once more in the Conclusion, I beg the reader's indulgence for yet a few more comments on this topic. Unlike the plans of Asukadera, Kudara Ōdera, and Kawaradera, that of Yakushiji has a very high degree of symmetry, contributing to a rational plan that allows the viewer to immediately comprehend the layout. Rather than having a pagoda directly in front of the middle golden hall (Asukadera), or pagoda and golden hall side by side to the west and east (Kudara Ōdera), or the somewhat odd placement of a west golden hall next to an east pagoda, with the middle golden hall behind (Kawaradera), Yakushiji has its two pagodas located to the southeast and southwest of the golden hall, which they in a sense frame or "bracket." Might not we argue that golden hall and paired pagodas echo the arrangement of the palace in relation to the east and west halves of the capital?[77] The ideology motivating these plans, in my view, must be related to the considerable efforts by the courts of Tenmu and Jitō to rationalize and strengthen the organization of the state.

The tiles of Yakushiji represent a sort of culmination in the evolutionary process from Asukadera to Kudara Ōdera to Kawaradera. Unlike the temple plans, we would not argue that the Yakushiji tiles are more symmetrical or "rational" than the others, only that they are more lavish and complex in design, presumably reflecting a desire for increased grandeur. The close relationship between the tiles of Yakushiji and those of the Fujiwara palace further reinforce the idea of enhanced integration that I believe is key to our comprehension of the broader project; in a very real sense, temple and palace are intimately connected with each other.

While it is possible to speak with some confidence about layout and tiles, greater difficulties are encountered when we think about the icons. Considering the resources expended on this temple, we can be certain that an impressive main icon was provided. I have tried to visualize the original Yakushi triad to the degree that is possible in terms of the available evidence, and although I am conscious of the somewhat unsatisfactory quality of this treatment, it is the best possible at the present time.

The completion of most of the structures of Yakushiji and of the palace toward the end of the seventh century certainly represents a crucial turning point in early Japanese history. And yet there seems to have been some dissatisfaction with the size of the Yakushiji, since around 700 efforts were made to erect a far grander temple, the enormous Monmu Daikandaiji.

Perhaps the latter would have overshadowed Yakushiji if the capital had remained in Fujiwarakyō, but the abandonment of that city in 710 and the move to Heijōkyō, combined with the destruction of Monmu Daikandaiji by fire in 711, rendered this point moot. There was, of course, subsequent rivalry between Heijōkyō Yakushiji and Daianji during the Nara period, but that is a story for another day.

CONCLUSION

ARE ANY EARLY TEMPLES in Japan more important than the Four Great Temples? By now my response to this question should be apparent, for the fundamental goal of this study has been to demonstrate the key importance of this group for early Buddhism in Japan. Archaeological investigations have, in recent decades, shown clearly that the status given these temples in the documentary sources is generally accurate, and there can be no doubt as to their centrality during the seventh century. Vexing problems do remain, however, in the interpretation of textual references, with scholars taking varying positions as to their meanings.[1]

In attempting to understand the origins of the concept of the Four Great Temples, we must consider two entries of 679 and 680 in *Nihon shoki*. The 679 entry states:

> The Emperor made a decree, saying: "Let the history of those temples which have sustenance fiefs attached to them be considered, and where addition is desirable, let addition be made; where they should be done away with, let them be done away with." On this day the names of the temples were fixed.[2]

The first section of this entry is evidently associated with the effort by the Tenmu court to take control of Buddhist institutions, since it deals with the economic support system of the various temples.[3] The second section appears to order temples that previously had geographical designations to adopt proper Buddhist names, although other, less plausible, interpretations have also been suggested.[4]

The entry of 680 is crucial for our purposes, as it establishes the basis for the designation "great temple":

> In this month an Imperial decree was issued as follows: "Henceforth let all temples, with the exception of the two or three great national temples, cease to be administered by officials. But for those which hold a sustenance fief, a limit from first to last of thirty years is fixed. This will be discontinued when, upon calculating the years, the number of thirty is completed. Moreover, Asukadera ought not to be included in those

> administered by officials, but as it was originally a Great Temple, always administered by officials, and has also done good service formerly, — for these reasons it is still retained in the class of officially administered temples."[5]

There is some ambiguity in this entry. The section referring to the thirty-year limit for sustenance fiefs is directly related to the 679 entry, fleshing out, as it does, specific regulations as to the degree of official support individual temples are entitled to receive. The entry apparently recognizes three categories of temples: great temples, temples granted sustenance fiefs, and temples without sustenance fiefs. Obviously, the thirty-year limit would apply only to those granted sustenance fiefs.

While these details are relatively straightforward, controversy has raged over the first clause, which indicates that great temples alone are to continue under the administration of officials.[6] Of course, it is the enigmatic *two or three* that causes the problems. At the time of the entry, 680.4, there would appear to have been only two temples warranting this identification, Kudara Ōdera (Daikandaiji) and Kawaradera. If three temples were indeed meant, the most likely candidate is Yakushiji. Although Yakushiji was not vowed until 680.11.12, several months after the decree under consideration, the temple's existence would certainly have been known to the compilers of *Nihon shoki*. Perhaps the odd "two or three" was meant to take into account that slight chronological discrepancy.[7]

Certainly the most peculiar section of the entire entry is that dealing with Asukadera. Obviously that temple, the most important in early Japan, and one that continued to have extremely high status in the following centuries, was from every reasonable perspective a "great temple." From the point of view of those who compiled *Nihon shoki*, however, it was well known that the temple had not been vowed by the "imperial family," but rather by the leader of the Soga clan, Umako. To solve this problem, the authors of *Nihon shoki* cite both its earlier status as a great temple and its subsequent service to the imperial family. In this way, Asukadera sneaks into the Four Great Temples group surreptitiously, through the back door.

Some consideration must be given to the specific meaning of the designation "great temple." The term first appears in *Nihon shoki* in an entry of 587 (Sushun 1.7) concerning the conflict over the acceptance of Buddhism between the Soga and Mononobe clans.[8] We are told that after the battles between them, Shitennōji, which had been vowed by Prince Stable Door if his side achieved victory, was established in Settsu Province and that the house and half of the slaves of the leader of the Mononobe, Moriya, were assigned for the support of this "great temple." We are also told that Umako fulfilled his vow by establishing Hōkōji. We must assume that both "great temple" and "Hōkōji" are terms retroactively applied by the compilers of

Nihon shoki, "great temple" presumably signaling Stable Door's connection with Shitennōji. Since it seems highly unlikely that an official Buddhist temple name such as "Hōkōji" could have been utilized in sixth-century Japan, I conclude that the first appearance of "great temple" is also anachronistic, which does not help in the search for the term's origins.

The next occurrences of "great temple" in *Nihon shoki* are in connection with the vowing and construction of Kudara Ōdera. Although we studied this material in Chapter 2, it perhaps should be cited here as well in the interests of completeness. The 639 entry refers to the vowing by Jomei of a great palace and a great temple, to be located on the banks of the Kudara River; a 642 entry treats Kōgyoku's desire to build a great temple, a wish that seems to represent her honoring the vow of her late husband, Jomei, to construct Kudara Ōdera.[9] These entries, when corroborated by *Daianji engi,* appear to be historically reliable.

There are, however, two other entries not so easily explained. The first, of 642, refers to a gathering in the south court of the "great temple."[10] While this might be identified with Kudara Ōdera, it seems highly unlikely. It is impossible that much of the temple could have been built so quickly, especially given Kōgyoku's reaffirmation of the vow two months later, perhaps indicating the actual start of construction. Consequently, a more plausible candidate is Asukadera, especially as the entry refers to the Soga "great minister." The second entry, of 645, describes a large assembly of monks and nuns at the "great temple" ordered by Kōtoku near the beginning of his reign.[11] For similar reasons, this entry also probably refers to Asukadera, not Kudara Ōdera. If these attributions are accepted, they provide further evidence for Asukadera's status as a great temple, despite the fact that it is not royal in the orthodox sense.

The narrative returns to the Kudara Ōdera sequence in 673, with that temple transferred from Kudara to Takechi and renamed Takechi Ōdera.[12] We should recall the "note" in *Nihon shoki* stating that this temple refers to Daikandaiji, while *Daianji engi* itself informs us that the name was not changed to Daikandaiji until 677. A final crucial occurrence of the term is in the 680.4 entry above.

Scholars have argued that the word "great" in these entries should not be understood as referring to the large scale of a given structure, either temple or palace, but rather as a term of respect attached to a royal commission.[13] While this may be the case, it seems quite unlikely that there were any *small* "great temples," suggesting that size was, in fact, a component implied by the word.

Since the most striking usages of the phrase are in connection with Kudara Ōdera, some further analysis is required here. Because that temple was apparently the first vowed by the "emperor," Ōhashi has argued that the "great" in its name was intended to differentiate it from other, earlier

temples that were not royal.[14] In the cases of the later great temples—Kawaradera and Yakushiji—he suggests that it was no longer necessary to specifically identify them in this manner in order to make known their royal affiliations. And Asukadera had to be added to the group because of its indisputable distinction.

Much controversy has arisen with regard to the political and economic significance of the term "great temple" at this stage in Japanese history. Virtually all commentators agree that it should be associated with a royal undertaking, but they differ significantly as to what such royal patronage implies. The crux of the problem is related to a later term, "official temple" (*kanji*), which indicates a temple with governmental support; this term is first seen in a documentary source in 729.[15] There can be no doubt that by the Nara period direct governmental support of official temples was practiced; the question is how much earlier such a policy existed.

This problem is closely connected with one of the most important issues in the study of early Japan, namely, the origin and development of the *ritsuryō* system of government.[16] A full system of administrative and penal codes was in place in the Yōrō Code, formulated around 720 and promulgated in 757; although this code is not entirely preserved, much of it has been reconstructed. Traces exist for earlier codes, as well, although the nature of the earliest is uncertain. It has been suggested that a code was developed at Tenji's court in 668, the so-called Ōmi Code, but this is doubtful. Next, mention is made of the Kiyomihara Code of 689, again of uncertain character, although there are suggestive indications of significant legal and administrative developments during the Tenmu-Jitō period, which would make the promulgation of a code more plausible. The penultimate code, the Taihō Code of 701, undoubtedly existed and served in part as a basis for the Yōrō Code.

The existence of an entity called an "official temple" should have been noted in the legal and administrative codes, as were other governmental bodies, thereby recognizing its "official" position. This may, however, be too strict an interpretation of the situation, resulting perhaps from the fact that so little evidence is available. Consequently, it may be useful to review the status of each of our four temples to determine how the process may have unfolded. The founding of Asukadera as the Soga clan temple preceded direct patronage of Buddhism by the "royal" government, and thus it cannot, in that restricted sense, be thought of as official. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, while the temple was associated with the most powerful family of the time, and depended on their resources, obviously there is no direct connection with the later *ritsuryō* government. In reality, the efforts to associate Asukadera with the royal patronage of Suiko and Shōtoku were ideologically based, designed to demonstrate an early connection of Buddhism with the so-called imperial family.

Kudara Ōdera is more problematical. As Chapter 2 demonstrated, it was commissioned and built by the royal family and was, in fact, the first definite instance of such patronage. Controversy has arisen over whether this patronage should be conceptualized as "private" or "official." If it is private, Kudara Ōdera would simply be a family temple of Jomei and his successors, not an official organ of government. Nevertheless, at times "emperor" and "state" have been conflated, even at this early period, thereby implying that any action by the emperor and his/her court would have an official character. I suggest that such a scenario assumes too early a formation of a state in terms of rationalized administrative procedures and country-wide control, and thus I believe that Kudara Ōdera, at its inception, cannot reasonably be characterized as an official temple.

Kawaradera raises similar problems. After the collapse of the main line of the Soga, there obviously were major changes in the forms of government, and these led to an increased sense of the state as a concrete entity. These processes are usually associated with the Taika Reform, and clearly change did occur at mid-century. Kōtoku's construction of an elaborate palace and capital at Naniwa certainly provides the necessary evidence. Tenji, too, built a new palace and capital on a large scale at Ōmi, but before he left Asuka, he seems to have vowed Kawaradera for the sake of his late mother, Saimei. If that hypothesis is accepted, it would indicate a private rather than official motivation for the construction of Kawaradera.

Fundamental changes occurred during the Tenmu-Jitō reigns, best represented by the planning and construction of Fujiwarakyō. With that enormous project underway, there can be no doubt that a more advanced state structure was emerging. One of Tenmu's early actions upon re-establishing the capital at Asuka was to transfer Kudara Ōdera from its original site on the banks of the Kudara River to a new site at Takechi. The texts state that this move was supervised by the "Office to Build Takechi Ōdera," which was under the direction of two officials. The appearance of the term *tsukasa*, "office" or "official," indicates the existence of more formal administrative units than earlier, and the building of Fujiwarakyō would necessarily have required a high level of bureaucratic coordination and control. *Daianji engi* records, in an entry of 677, that Takechi Ōdera's name was changed to Daikandaiji, literally, Great Official Great Temple, certainly a name with an official ring. I believe that the occurrences of these two terms offer the first glimpses into organized governmental activities as contrasted with the private efforts of the royal family.[17] Needless to say, this interpretation is within the parameters of the preceding discussion that the 680.4 *Nihon shoki* edict is indicative of a developing bureaucracy.

The motivation for the vowing of Yakushiji, like that postulated for Kawaradera, was of a son for the sake of a relative — his mother in the case of Kawaradera, his wife in the case of Yakushiji. In both cases the

reasons were personal in the normal sense; however, by the time Yakushiji was vowed and constructed, it is most likely that some sort of bureaucracy was in place to supervise the work. The precise placement of the temple within Fujiwarakyō further strengthens the argument that what we are witnessing with Yakushiji is not a private effort but an activity carried out within the broader framework of well-organized bureaucratic planning and supervision.

An additional problem has arisen with regard to the precise meaning of "great temple." A scholar of Buddhism, Nakai Shinkō, maintains that the utilization of the term in the 680.4 edict was intended to formalize the specific association of these temples with the royal house; therefore, he emphasizes the way in which the great temples are differentiated from other clan temples, both those receiving financial assistance and those not.[18]

Needless to say, Ōhashi vigorously attacks this approach. Basically, Ōhashi argues that by 680, if not earlier, the great temples were, for all intents and purposes, governmentally administered institutions. He believes Nakai gives too much weight to the specific terms *ōdera* and *kanji*; Ōhashi recognizes that the "great temple" label continued to be used for some decades after the 680 edict, but he is still certain that this usage definitely implies official support in both construction and subsequent administration, even if the *kanji* form was not yet employed.[19]

This difference of interpretation is largely determined by two distinct conceptualizations of the state. Ōhashi here, as in most of his scholarship, strives to articulate a viewpoint postulating a strong imperial state as early as possible, and to that end he argues that the Four Great Temples were administered by officials at least from 673 and probably earlier. The viewpoint represented by Nakai, perceiving a more gradual development of the bureaucratic state, wishes to limit the usage of "official temple" to the "protect the nation buddhism" (*chingo kokka*) ideology of the Nara period. Although it would be impossible here to offer a full assessment of the nature of state formation in seventh-century Japan and of its connections with Buddhism, my sense is that this development was a relatively slow, incremental process.[20] From that perspective, it is unlikely that there were "official temples" in the full sense of the term before the Nara period, but certainly steady movement in that direction is perceptible in the Tenmu-Jitō period, especially in the planning and construction of a proper, full-scale capital city, Fujiwarakyō. By the time the Kiyomihara Code is said to have been formulated (689), considerable work must have been completed on the Fujiwara palace and capital. May it not be suggested that, when Jitō and her court settled into this grand new complex in 694, the political situation was such that a sufficient degree of bureaucratization was available to begin the transformation of the "great temple" system into one more closely resembling the "official temple" structure of the Nara period? The

full formation of the official temple system, with the establishment of the Kokubunji/Kokubunniji national network of governmentally constructed and administered temples/nunneries, was not in place until the middle of the eighth century. Obviously, our great temples represent a step in this direction, but I believe the evidence indicates that this was still rather tentative.[21]

Throughout this study I have asserted the very important status of the Four Great Temples in relation to that of Hōryūji, so here, in the context of great-temple ideology, we must address one further issue. A well-known gilt-bronze plaque, housed in the Hōryūji Treasure House, has an inscription that contains the name "Ikaruga Ōdera" and the cyclical characters *kinoe/uma*, equivalent to the years 634, 694, 754, and so on (fig. 5.1).[22] Three priests, Tokusō of Ikaruga Ōdera, Ryōben of Kataokaōji, and Bensō of Asukadera, dedicated a Kannon image for the sake of their mother and father. Some scholars have argued that the date in question is 694, the eighth year of Jitō's reign, and thus assert that Ikarugadera/Hōryūji had the status of "great temple" by this time.[23] Others are more skeptical, including myself, since it seems unlikely that Ikarugadera would have achieved major status before the move to Heijōkyō, when Prince Stable Door was transformed into Crown Prince Saintly Virtue. An alternate proposal for the year in question is 754, although this suggestion has not garnered much support, presumably because it does not fit into the Hōryūji ideology. In any case, since this inscription is the only occurrence of the designation "Ikaruga Ōdera," clearly it is of a different order of importance than that of the four temples in this study.[24]

Plans

A fundamental issue in the study of early Japanese temple architecture is the analysis of ground plans.[25] In Chapter 1, the various key structures needed for a temple were outlined in general terms; basically, a relatively limited number is necessary. Most important are a golden hall, a pagoda, a lecture hall, a roofed corridor, a middle gate, a south gate, and priests' quarters. Other structures are also found, but these seven determine the overall arrangement of the temple. Most significant, of course, are the golden hall and the pagoda,[26] and so the principal task the architect faced was the layout and relationship of these two halls. This entailed complicated problems, some related to ritual functions, others to matters of design aesthetics. For example, should the pagoda be in front of the golden hall, even though this plan obscures the golden hall? Or should the two halls be side by side, thus resulting in a significant degree of asymmetry? After this key relationship was established, the architect probably turned to the roofed corridor and the lecture hall; the lecture hall is the most fluid in placement,



Fig. 5.1. Gilt-bronze plaque, Hōryūji Museum: back, front, and detail. Photograph permission from Hōryūji.

as it can be seen within, connected to, or outside of the roofed corridor (fig. 1.20). Perhaps, in some cases, when the lecture hall was located outside the roofed corridor, there was no intention to build it immediately, so plans for its placement could be delayed. However, the first two formats for the lecture hall — entirely within or embedded in the roofed corridor — would determine substantially the configuration of that structure. Of course, the lecture hall was not the only determining factor, since the "pagoda in front of golden hall" and the "pagoda/golden hall side-by-side" formats crucially affected the configuration of the roofed corridor. The middle gate was always embedded in the roofed corridor, while the south gate was placed a short distance in front, with the outer, roofed wall attached to it. Ordinarily, the priests' quarters were placed at the back, often behind the lecture hall.

Naturally, a simple enumeration of these structures tells us little about the problems the architects encountered or their ultimate solutions. Some temples were erected on plots that are not flat, and such irregularity pro-

foundly affected the overall layout.[27] Although a nonlevel plot was presumably not considered ideal, since all of the temples treated in this study are on level sites, we need not concern ourselves with more challenging terrain. In the process of laying out the temple plan, the architect strove to achieve a harmonious composition by balancing and adjusting key relationships among the various structures. Although each temple is essentially unique in configuration and detail, basic schemes served as overall guides to the planning.

At the early stages of the study of Buddhist architecture in Japan, it was assumed that there were relatively few ground plans in use.[28] The "north-south axial plan," in which the pagoda was placed in front of the golden hall, was very well known, and as it could be directly linked with temple plans in China and on the Korean peninsula, it was believed to signify the early developmental stage of temple architecture in Japan. Perhaps the most important temple plan, at least historiographically speaking, was the "pagoda-west/golden hall–east" plan. Since this plan can be seen in Hōryūji, the most beautifully and completely preserved temple of the early stage of Buddhism in Japan, it has exerted an enormous influence on architectural history. A direct prototype for this layout has never been found on the continent, which has led to a strong tendency to maintain that it was a "Japanese" innovation. The mirror image of this plan (that is, "pagoda-east/golden hall–west") was also well known and was thought of as a variation of the "pagoda-west/golden hall–east" format.[29] Finally, it was well understood that there were important cases of two pagodas placed at the front of the temple, with the golden hall and other structures behind.

Many of these ideas concerning temple planning have had to be revised as a result of the historical archaeology of the last fifty years, particularly because of the excavations of the Four Great Temples. The fact that each has a different plan seems particularly important:

1. Asukadera: one pagoda/three golden halls;
2. Kibi Pond (= Kudara Ōdera?): pagoda-west/golden hall–east;
3. Kawaradera: central golden hall, golden hall–west/pagoda-east;
4. Yakushiji: paired pagodas in front of other structures.

The discovery of the plan of Asukadera was especially noteworthy, both for its novelty and also because it stimulated interest in further investigations that hoped to discover other new forms. Following directly after the Asukadera excavations, those of Kawaradera also yielded a quite unexpected plan. In contrast to Asukadera, the Kawaradera plan was utilized in other important temples, as came to be understood from other excavations. The Yakushiji plan had a similar influence, especially as its paired pagodas allowed a strongly symmetrical design. In the case of the Kibi Pond site, the very fact that it displayed the pagoda-west/golden hall–east configuration

provided additional evidence that this format did not originate at Hōryūji, something that had already been realized with the excavation of nearby Abedera.[30]

The fundamental problem here is to explain this diversity in planning. We have considered the ground plans of each of our temples in their respective chapters, so here it may be helpful to present a broader, more synthetic analysis. It goes without saying that the sources for most if not all the plans can be found on the Korean peninsula, and even if the ultimate source is in China, the specific plan was probably transmitted to Japan from the peninsula. The simplest design — the "north-south axial plan" — is amply documented in Paekche and arrived in Japan during the early stages of Buddhist architecture, as seen at Shitennōji and Ikarugadera; however, it is not seen in any of the Four Great Temples. Asukadera was initially believed to be an example of this "north-south axial plan," certainly not an illogical assumption. In fact, there is a strong focus on the central north-south axis, as the structures run south gate, middle gate, pagoda, golden hall, lecture hall, and are modified only by the inclusion of the east and west golden halls. Related, although not identical, a "one pagoda/three golden hall" arrangement can be found in Koguryo (fig. 1.2), and likely a similar form existed in Paekche, although this has not been documented.

What about Kudara Ōdera, Kawaradera, and Yakushiji? I believe these may be related primarily to temples in Silla. While the ground plan of Kudara Ōdera is different, the occurrence of a wooden, nine-story pagoda at Hwangnyongsa in Silla must reflect similar, strong ideological concerns related to royal patronage. In Chapter 2 we considered the complex evidence for this grandiose structure at the Silla temple, noting the significant connection with Paekche because of the participation of the Paekche builder Abiji in constructing the pagoda. Regardless of the ultimate source on the peninsula, the adoption of the extraordinary, nine-story pagoda form at Kudara Ōdera clearly signifies an important development in early Japan. A defining trait of the ground plans of Kawaradera and Monmu Daikandaiji is an intermediate east-west roofed corridor abutting the two sides of the golden hall, and it should be noted that the same arrangement can be seen in the Silla temple Kamŭnsa. Although we do not know if there was a building at Monmu Daikandaiji in the south-west quadrant, symmetrically arranged with the pagoda in the southeast, we assume that something must have been planned for that vacant area. In any event, the space in front of the intermediate east-west roofed corridor is quite crowded in Kamŭnsa, Kawaradera, and Monmu Daikandaiji, suggesting a conceptual relationship. Yakushiji, with its paired east-west pagodas, can also be associated with key Silla temples, particularly Sach'onwangsa and Kamŭnsa. As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, while Yakushiji does not have the intermediate roofed corridor, its general proportions in the area from the golden hall

to the pagodas to the middle gate are similar to those of Kamŭnsa, exactly as seen in Kawaradera and Monmu Daikandaiji.

This quite wide range of similarities appears to indicate an important relationship between Yamato and Silla. I suggest that the relationship can be understood, in part, by considering the development of the state in the two kingdoms. The nine-story pagoda is directly associated with the goal of the royal houses to signal their preeminence. Kawaradera apparently lacks a direct prototype in Silla, although we may assume that the complexity of its arrangement reflects comparable developments on the peninsula. Finally, Yakushiji bears close relationships in planning with key temples in Silla. Can it not be said that the historical developments in Silla through the seventh century, resulting in the unification of the peninsula, relate to some degree to the increased centralization noted in Yamato at the same time? And is it not possible that the Yamato leaders were conscious of and perhaps emulated not just political but also architectural developments that they observed in Silla?[31]

Continuing the discussion from another perspective, we may ask how these various temple plans were formulated. While there may not be any single answer to this question, ritual and ideological factors certainly require careful investigation. The north-south axial arrangement does not appear in any of the Four Great Temples, but it may be significant that one of the defining features of that plan — the central focus on the pagoda — is also present at Asukadera, even though Asukadera has the addition of east and west golden halls. In both cases, the first structure seen when we enter through the middle gate is the pagoda. Because a fundamental purpose of a pagoda is to contain relics of the Buddha, we assume that the cult of relics must have been of crucial importance at this early stage, perhaps even more so than the worship of icons.[32]

Kudara Ōdera, the second of the Four Great Temples, has the pagoda and golden hall arranged side by side, the pagoda to the west and the golden hall to the east. Such a ground plan would seem to give equal status to the two structures, suggesting that the relic and icon cults had achieved a degree of parity. The very strange placement of the middle gate postulated for the Kibi Pond site by the excavators, however, leads to some difficulties, since rather than being in the center of the south roofed corridor, as is almost invariably the case, it was placed to the east, toward the golden hall. Of course, the standard arrangement is seen at Hōryūji, where the middle gate is located on an axis between the pagoda and golden hall. Consequently, even though we can argue that the side-by-side arrangement indicates equal status for pagoda and golden hall, the situation with the middle gate is still highly problematic at Kibi Pond.[33]

Kawaradera moves the middle golden hall back to the center of the compound, with a second golden hall to the west and the pagoda to the east; in

a sense, the latter two structures frame the central hall, and the subordinate position of the pagoda suggests a decline in status, since clearly the main focus is on the middle golden hall, while the west golden hall and pagoda are very much de-emphasized.

With the introduction of the paired-pagoda format at Yakushiji, we see the final development in the Four Great Temples group. Once again the golden hall is the center of attention, bracketed, as it were, by the east and west pagodas. This layout results in a highly balanced, rational arrangement of structures, although it is a little difficult to determine the relative importance of the golden hall and the pagodas; we suspect that despite there being two pagodas, primacy still lies with the golden hall and its icon. While not directly relevant to our project, it should be noted that Daianji, the Heijōkyō successor to Kudara Ōdera/Daikandaiji, also had two pagodas, but they were now placed outside of the main compound, each enclosed by its own roofed corridor, a format also seen at Tōdaiji.[34]

As I have shown, prototypes on the Korean peninsula can be adduced for all of the relevant ground plans, with the exception of the pagoda-west/golden hall–east arrangement. This raises the question as to the basis for adoption of the various ground plans in Yamato: do they simply represent stages in a developmental sequence formulated elsewhere? I have suggested the possibility that the patrons of the four temples were interested in variety, but could this actually be the case? Of course, this also brings up the matter of how aware the respective patrons of the Four Great Temples were of their predecessors; was there, in fact, an element of competition in the building of each? Perhaps this can be seen in the case of Asukadera and Kudara Ōdera, since Kudara Ōdera appears to be an effort to build on a grander scale than the earlier Soga temple, but the same cannot be said for Kawaradera and Yakushiji.

Icons, Relics, Rituals

For obvious reasons this study has generally concentrated on the architectural elements that can be recovered through archaeological research, but we surely want to know more about the total context of the temples. Fortunately, there is some information available on icons, relics, and rituals associated with the Four Great Temples.

In the case of icons, we have the fortunate preservation of at least parts of the gilt-bronze Great Buddha of Asukadera (figs. 1.23. 1.24, 1.25). The enormous stone pedestal in the middle golden hall, which appears to have been in place since the building was constructed, certainly was adequate to support a sixteen-foot image of the sort now enshrined. Debate continues as to the degree to which the current sculpture reflects the Asuka icon, and yet we should acknowledge that it provides us with at least a general idea

of the original form. Documentary sources also provide details on some of the other early icons, especially the stone Miroku brought from Paekche by Kafuka no omi. The sixteen-foot gilt-bronze and fabric icons attributed to Tori busshi remain problematical, but we must assume that a temple as grand as Asukadera must have been provided with a full complement of icons. When we consider Kudara Ōdera, we have no tangible remains extant, although important textual sources speak of a beautiful dry-lacquer main icon, subsequently transferred to Daianji, and of some other icons at the original temple. Kawaradera, as we saw, is a special case because of the extensive remains of clay imagery found in the deposit behind the temple; the scale of some of the fragments prove that originally there must have been very large clay icons. Furthermore, other fragments suggest that clay imagery covered much of the interior of the main halls, with *senbutsu* on the walls and tiles with wave patterns on the floor (figs. 3.17, 3.18, 3.19, 3.20, 3.21). Finally, it seems certain that Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji, like its Heijōkyō successor, had a sixteen-foot gilt-bronze Yakushi triad as its principal icon.

While the main icons of Asakudera and Yakushiji were both gilt-bronze, that of Kudara Ōdera was apparently dry-lacquer and that of Kawaradera clay. This represents substantial diversity, and we cannot help wondering if, as was the case with the plans, there was a deliberate effort to differentiate the temples. Given the great importance of wood in later Japanese sculpture, it is also somewhat surprising that none of the principal icons were of this material, although I suspect that the materials chosen were more prestigious, and thus more suitable for such temples.

Gilt-bronze remained the premier material in the Asuka and Hakuhō periods and during much of Nara period as well. In attempting to visualize seventh-century gilt-bronze sculpture, we have several resources: the present Asukadera Shaka, the later Heijōkyō Yakushi triad, and also the Kōfukuji Buddha Head, all originally sixteen-foot triads. Additionally, there are numerous smaller sculptures, ranging from a little less than life-size to the standard "small gilt-bronze image" (*shō kondō butsu)* format that is approximately 30 cm. in height. Examples of medium-sized sculptures include pieces such as the Hōryūji Museum Yumechigai Kannon and the Jindaiji Shaka, in present-day Tokyo, and it is quite possible that images of this type may provide insights as to the character of the larger icons in major temples of the type studied in this monograph.[35] By far the largest category of seventh-century sculpture is the *shō kondō butsu* group, which encompasses more than 200 images. Although many are of superlative quality, considerable controversy has surrounded the problem of the degree to which such small images reflect the type of images serving as the main icon of the Four Great Temples. Ōhashi has argued vigorously that such images do not represent the mainstream of seventh-century, and particu-

larly Hakuhō, sculpture, but since this problem is not directly connected to the present matter it need not be discussed here.[36]

For the Kudara Ōdera dry-lacquer icon, we must rely on images from the Nara period in this material, and there are also important full-scale Nara-period clay icons that may be useful in understanding the Kawaradera main icon. Finally, the fabric icons mentioned for several of the temples are problematical; here, too, there is a limited amount of Nara evidence available.

In recent years it has become increasingly evident that relics occupied an absolutely central position in the religious practice of Japanese Buddhist temples.[37] Knowledge concerning relics, strongest by far in the case of Asukadera, motivated the detailed consideration in Chapter 1 and briefer comments in later chapters. There is some general evidence about the relics utilized at Yakushiji, both in its Fujiwarakyō and Heijōkyō manifestations, but not enough to make a full statement. Since a pagoda without relics is inconceivable, there necessarily were relics at Kudara Ōdera and Kawaradera, but regrettably these cannot be recovered today. Consequently, to form a broader picture of the cult of relics as seen in these four temples, we must rely more on generalizations than on specific material remains.

Ritual, and the more general functioning of the temples, is also difficult to discuss in appropriate detail.[38] We know, for example, about a number of ceremonies held at Asukadera, from a relatively early stage. An important entry tells of the copying of the entire Buddhist canon at Kawaradera in 673, thereby documenting a key activity seen in later temples, and we can assume that similar activities were carried out at the other three. Naturally, such a project would inevitably be accompanied by ritual actions. A number of ceremonies were held at the Four Great Temples in the context of the sickness or death of monarchs, especially Tenmu, Jitō, and Monmu. We suspect that such rituals also were carried out earlier for other monarchs, but the extant documentation does not allow a firm statement. Presumably the Four Great Temples, like their better-understood successors, were primarily involved in meeting the needs of their elite patrons; the degree to which they were also centers of scholarship and learning remains unclear. While there must have been solid beginnings in these realms during the seventh century, we get the impression that well-developed scholarly work was more characteristic of the eighth century. At a minimum, however, our temples must have been centers of literacy and basic learning.

Scholars of Buddhist art, architecture, and practice normally concentrate on worship halls, icons, relics, and rituals, partly because such things are available for study and, perhaps more importantly, partly because that is what really interests them. And yet, we cannot help wondering what else was going on at large temples. We normally limit our focus to the priests, as they are the people who are recorded (and did the recording), but there

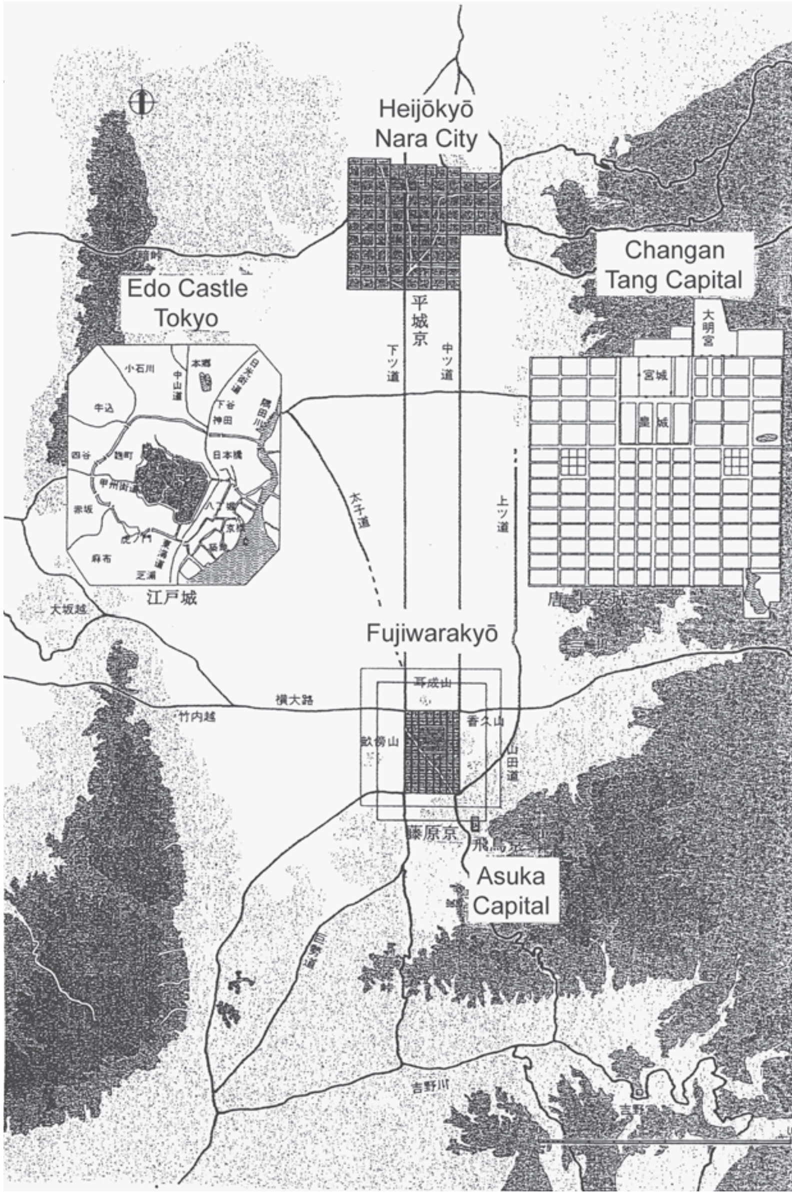
certainly were many other people working at the temples in various tasks. Here we need not indulge entirely in guesswork, at least in the case of Asukadera, since the astounding recent excavations of Asuka Pond have uncovered a treasure trove of data concerning manufacturing activities, including work in gold, silver, bronze, iron, lacquer, wood, glass, and so forth.[39] From these data we now understand a great deal about how and where the broad range of things needed for a temple were produced. Presumably the Asuka Pond workshops did not limit their efforts to supplying adjacent Asukadera, and it seems most likely that these workshops were a center of production for the entire region. A substantial amount of information has always been available concerning the kilns used for the production of roof tiles, primarily because kilns are difficult to destroy, but the much wider range of activities documented at Asuka Pond has immeasurably enhanced our knowledge of seventh-century production.

At present it is not known where these craftsmen and their families resided, although it seems likely that their quite modest accommodations, presumably in the immediate environs, are difficult to detect archaeologically. (And since I am already guessing here, it is perhaps excusable to suggest that maybe the archaeologists were not yet looking for such remains, since we know from previous experience that often we find only what we are specifically seeking.) The same is probably true of the facilities for other temple workers, including slaves. Nevertheless, the sheer scale of each of the Four Great Temples would have necessitated large staffs, for we can assume priests did not engage in menial tasks such as cooking and cleaning. In sum, I believe the recent excavations at Asuka Pond allow us to visualize a center bustling with activity, as a large number of people went about their daily tasks.

The "Transfer" to Heijōkyō

We have paid some attention to the early capitals in the Asuka region and to the establishment and construction of the first full-scale capital, Fujiwarakyō. Despite the enormous expenditure of labor and wealth on Fujiwarakyō, surprisingly quickly the decision was made to abandon it and build a new capital, Heijōkyō, present Nara (see map 3).[40] A number of complex problems are related to the move from Fujiwarakyō to Heijōkyō, particularly with regard to the usage of the term "transfer" (*iken*). For example, it is known that architectural elements, including wood columns and roof tiles, were moved from the old to the new site, but the extent of such movement is uncertain and, in any case, need not be clarified here. But obviously, in the context of this study, the fate of our temples is of key importance.

While we have mentioned or discussed in some detail the later histories



Map 3. Transfer from Fujiwarakyō to Heijōkyō

of the Four Great Temples, it is useful to review Figure 5.2, as it displays graphically the basic circumstances. At present Asukadera/Gangōji and Daikandaiji/Daianji are pale reflections of their earlier grandeur, although it is possible to reconstruct their plans as they existed in the Nara period. In the case of Gangōji, some tiles of the seventh century still exist as roofing, clearly indicating that such objects could be moved.[41] And, as noted in the preceding section, the sources inform us that at least some icons

Asuka-Fujiwarakyō	Heijōkyō
1. Asukadera	1. Gangōji
2. Kudara Ōdera	2. Daianji
3. Kawaradera	
4. Yakushiji	3. Yakushiji
	4. Kōfukuji

Fig. 5.2. The Four Great Temples, Asuka/Fujiwarakyō and Heijōkyō

were transferred from one of the two Daikandaiji to Daianji. Kawaradera, of course, is the only one of the four that was not transferred, its place in the sequence taken by Kōfukuji, the clan temple of the dominant Fujiwara family. As this family was especially important in subsequent centuries, Kōfukuji continued to expand in scale and power, so that in the middle ages it was the ruler of the entire Yamato province.[42]

Of the three Great Temples transferred to Heijōkyō, Asukadera/Gangōji appears to be in one category, while Daikandaiji/Daianji and Fujiwarakyō Yakushi/Heijōkyō Yakushiji are in another. With regard to Asukadera/Gangōji, we assume that its premier status in the seventh century insured transfer. In the case of Daianji and Yakushiji, in addition to their general importance, there was clearly an additional motivation: these two temples were symmetrically placed at the two sides of the new capital to serve a key protective role. This status directly reflects the arrangement of the Chinese capital, Chang'an (fig 5.3), and must already have been known when the original Yakushiji and Monmu Daikandaiji were placed in Fujiwarakyō in a similar format. In comparing the plans of Fujiwarakyō and Heijōkyō, we note a rather surprising feature; in both cases, Monmu Daikandaiji and Daianji are sited well to the east and slightly to the south in relationship to respective locations of the first and second Yakushiji (fig. 5.2). Perhaps this is a coincidence, but given the seriousness of city planning at the time, casual placement does not seem very plausible: could it reflect the placement in Tang Chang'an of Ximingsi and Qinglongsi?

Although the Four Great Temples were large in comparison to other seventh-century temples, their eighth-century counterparts were considerably larger than the original versions. Daianji occupied 2.5 times as much land as Monmu Daikandaiji, as it was allotted fifteen *chō* in contrast to six *chō* for the earlier temple. Not only was the actual space increased substantially, but there were also many more buildings: in the case of Daianji, it is recorded that there were almost ninety structures. This new grandeur has been associated with the priest Dōji (?–744), who was discussed briefly in Chapter 2.[43] He was born in Yamato and entered the Buddhist order

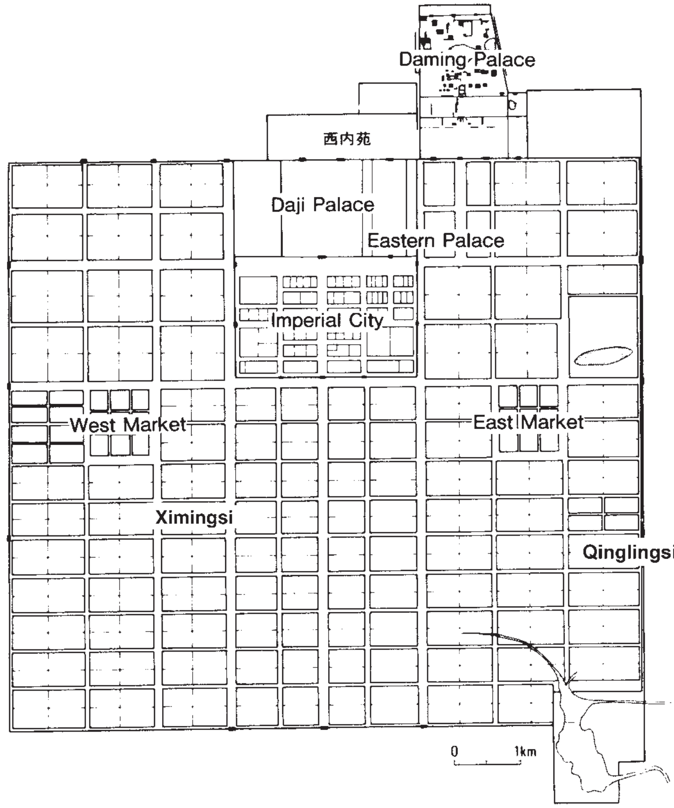


Fig. 5.3. Placement of major temples, Chang'an

at a young age; in 702.6 he was sent to Tang China to study and did not return to Japan for many years. The sources vary as to his period abroad, with numbers between sixteen and eighteen years, but evidently he was back by the early Yōrō era (717–719). Certainly he saw Chang'an, the Tang capital, at its peak of glory and would have been highly impressed by the great temples there. Interestingly, he left Japan while the capital was still in Fujiwarakyō, at around the time work began at Monmu Daikandaiji, and returned to the new capital, Heijōkyō, when it was still under construction. Evidently Dōji informed the court about the splendid temples of Chang'an, which led to a great enhancement of the scale of the official temples of Heijōkyō. This process was particularly apparent at Daianji. One of the most significant developments, as we have seen, was the placing of the two pagodas (east and west) within separate compounds, each enclosed by a roofed corridor.

In line with this policy of increased land allotment, Yakushiji and Gangōji each received fifteen *chō*, a much larger allotment than at Fujiwarakyō, while Kōfukuji, the family temple of the powerful Fujiwara clan, got sixteen *chō*. Very little is known about Kōfukuji's seventh-century pre-

decessor, Yamashinadera, but it certainly would have been nowhere near this size in its initial stage.[44] Gangōji and Kōfukuji, like Daianji, had numerous structures and were both built on a grand scale. In a sense they foretell the splendor of the later Nara temples Tōdaiji and Saidaiji.

The situation of Yakushiji is rather different from that of the other three Heijōkyō Four Great Temples and requires a more detailed analysis. Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji survives above ground today only with its golden hall foundation stones and the mounds for the two pagodas; everything else is underground. Documents inform us that Yakushiji was "transferred" from the old to the new capital in 718, which some hypotheses suggest explains the lack of material evidence above ground in Fujiwarakyō, since it is thought to have been moved to Heijōkyō. However, as discussed above, the meaning of the concept of "transfer" from Fujiwarakyō to Heijōkyō is not entirely clear. General accounts previously asserted that the important temples, such as Yakushiji, were simply disassembled, moved, and then reconstructed at the new location. It is now known on the basis of recent excavations that Yakushiji continued to flourish in Fujiwarakyō after the move to the new capital, and that its west pagoda was built as late as the Nara period. Consequently, it seems most unlikely that the surviving ancient pagoda at Heijōkyō Yakushiji was moved from Fujiwarakyō, indicating it must be a Nara-period structure. Similarly, art historical analysis suggests that the Yakushi triad was also made in the Nara period, a dating that has always been most convincing in terms of stylistic comparisons with the continent.[45]

In some respects the most fascinating detail is the manner in which the Heijōkyō Yakushiji replicated the plan of the Fujiwarakyō temple, the only case, as we saw, of this phenomenon among our temples. And yet even within this replication policy, there were subtle adjustments, including the expanded scale of the middle gate and the roofed corridors (fig. 4.13). Archaeological evidence indicates that originally these structures were made on the same, smaller scale as at Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji and were only later expanded. As I have already argued, this expansion must have been motivated by a desire to bring the new temple up to current standards, the earlier gate and corridors apparently deemed too modest in size.

An interesting hypothesis to explain the relatively smaller size of the other buildings at Heijōkyō Yakushiji, in comparison to the substantially enlarged Daianji, Gangōji, and (presumably) Kōfukuji, has been put forward by Tanabe Ikuo.[46] He begins by wondering why, if one component of Yakushiji was enlarged, the other components were not also increased in size. His suggested answer is that perhaps the golden hall of the original temple was physically moved to the new capital shortly before the return to Japan of Dōji, thus precluding any impact on that building of Dōji 's ideas. When it was realized that new standards were appropriate, it was too late

to do so with the golden hall without entirely redoing it. With the decision made to retain the transferred golden hall, the two pagodas and the lecture hall would have to be constructed in the original sizes since otherwise they would have been very much out of proportion to the golden hall. Tanabe, in this theory, moves away from the usual debate about the possibility of the transfer from Fujiwarakyō of the current east pagoda; he believes it was constructed in an archaic style at the new site and focuses on the golden hall. Although this hypothesis is logical, it can be strongly challenged on the basis of archaeological evidence and has not been generally accepted. That being the situation, we still need to account for the smaller size of the structures at Heijōkyō Yakushi, especially in comparison with the other temples.

At the present stage of research, the evidence strongly suggests that "transfer" related more closely to some sort of title or authority than it did to tangible objects. There is no question that some things were brought from the old capital, such as the tiles at Gangōji or the main icon at Daianji, but by and large it is evident that the original temples continued to function as active institutions even after the move to Heijōkyō. Certainly they may have become less important, and evidently they declined substantially in the following Heian period, but it is not the case that they ceased to function.

The question of the transfer of temples has concerned specialists for decades, and there is still no consensus.[47] Excavations at Fujiwarakyō, Heijōkyō, and Nagaokakyō have demonstrated that the physical transfer of architectural components was both common and relatively easy; in fact, such transfer was probably much more economical than the production of new components, as at Kibi Pond. Consequently, there is no a priori reason to discount the possibility of the transfer of temples, but this seems not to have been the case in the move from Fujiwarakyō to Heijōkyō. In searching for an explanation, I suggest that we concentrate on the functional and symbolic differences between capital-palace and temple. With the move to a new capital, the previous capital was essentially abandoned and both its functional and symbolic roles assumed by the successor.[48] The situation with temples seems more ambiguous, since their symbolic attachment to the original sites was apparently of great strength. When plans were made to move from Fujiwarakyō to Heijōkyō, the court apparently faced a quandary: tremendous importance had been ascribed to the Four Great Temples, and they could not simply be abandoned. I believe a compromise was reached whereby the four both remained in their original locations *and* were "transferred" to the new capital. This solution would prevent any difficulties that might have resulted from the abandonment of the original site and at the same time provided the court continued access to the extraordinary power and authority of these temples. I also assume

that when the decision was made to leave Heijōkyō, the court developed a policy that required the Nara temples to remain in place, with their roles at Heiankyō assumed by Tōji and Saiji.[49]

With three of the Four Great Temples transferred to Heijōkyō, only Kawaradera remained behind, its place taken in Heijōkyō by Kōfukuji, and here we see the final manifestation of the original system. A new phase in the history of Japanese Buddhism begins with the construction on a very grand scale of Shōmu's and Kōmyō's Tōdaiji at the middle of the eighth century and later with Saidaiji, the temple constructed by their daughter, Empress Kōken-Shōtoku.[50] Three of the Four Great Temples of the seventh century continued to be highly important temples, although they could not match the grandeur of Tōdaiji, with its enormous main hall and Great Buddha. While Tōdaiji retains much of its splendor, Saidaiji is only a shadow of its original form, with relatively few monuments extant from the Nara period. Nevertheless, the next stage in the evolution of official great temples in Japan is seen with Shōmu's "East Great Temple" and Kōken-Shōtoku's "West Great Temple." Accompanying this process, new lists appeared, now incorporating different numbers of temples.[51]

General Conclusion

The conceptualization of the Four Great Temples group was intimately related to many of the most significant political developments of the seventh century. In tracing this process, it is evident, of course, that Asukadera is different from the others since it was not a "royal" temple, but one founded by the powerful Soga clan; consequently, it was only later, somewhat reluctantly, included in the group. Nevertheless, we should keep constantly in mind that it was in many respects *the* great temple of the seventh century, even if not initially a "great temple."

Kudara Ōdera apparently reflects an early, direct connection with Buddhism by the "royal" clan in that it is the first temple that they are known to have vowed. (Here, as throughout the study, I reject the early "royal" connections of Hōryūji and Shitennōji.) Fourteen centuries later, Asukadera looms more importantly than Kudara Ōdera–Takechi Ōdera–Daikandaiji during the entire seventh century, and it was only with the Monmu Daikandaiji, built at the very beginning of the eighth century, that unequivocal evidence for the pre-eminence of the now "imperial" temple can be observed. Perhaps this viewpoint may have to be altered to some extent in order to take into account the recent excavations of the Kibi Pond site, but it is still striking to note how ambiguous the evidence is for the status of Kudara Ōdera, Takechi Ōdera, and the first Daikandaiji in comparison to the precise data related to Asukadera. After all, we are still very uncertain as to the actual location of Takechi Ōdera/Daikandaiji, although it is

now generally agreed that the Kibi Pond site is, in all probability, Kudara Ōdera.

The vowing and construction of Kawaradera are undocumented, rendering its status somewhat ambiguous as well. However, the significant changes in political structures from the middle of the seventh century, leading to the enhanced authority of the "royal" line, make it all but certain that Kawaradera was, in fact, their temple. Further establishing this interpretation is the widespread adoption of Kawaradera's ground plan and roof tile forms throughout the country; there can be little doubt as to the temple's centrality. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, compelling evidence allows a direct association of Yakushiji with the near total transformation of Yamato during the Tenmu-Jitō reigns. Whether or not it is appropriate to see Yakushiji as a sort of culmination of the Four Great Temples system, it most certainly reflects the power and authority of the newly forged central government, especially in terms of its precise placement within the grid structure of Fujiwarakyō and the bureaucratic auspices under which it was built. (The status of Monmu Daikandaiji is rather different from the others in that it was started at the very end of the period, was apparently never completed, and burned down the year after the move to Heijōkyō; obviously, if it had been finished and used for some decades, its position would be much more prominent.)

There are many dimensions to the Four Great Temples, including political and religious, but I do insist that politics were always of central concern. That being said, let us summarize briefly some of the other dimensions. Most striking, in my view, are the totally different plans adopted by each temple, a topic that has constantly engaged our attention throughout the study. While there is no proof that conscious decisions motivated this phenomenon, it does not seem very likely that the variations resulted from sheer chance. As I suggested rather hesitantly, we cannot help feeling that there was a strong desire for variety, so that each succeeding temple in the sequence would be different from its predecessors. An almost equal variety appears in the materials for the main icons, including the first and fourth utilizing bronze, the second dry-lacquer, and the third clay; presumably there were also significant stylistic differences although that aspect is difficult to recover. It goes without saying that these changes in plans and icons reflect ongoing developments in Buddhist architecture and icons and cannot be attributed solely to the central position of the Four Great Temples. Nevertheless, this very centrality provided the conditions for the adoption of the most up-to-date and impressive forms. The Soga could afford the best when they constructed their clan temple, and the same circumstances can be observed with respect to the "royal imperial" temples, especially Kawaradera and Yakushiji.

As this study is not specifically concerned with the status of our temples

during the eighth-century Nara period, relatively little has been said about that phase. Nevertheless, the circumstances of the transfer of temples from Fujiwarakyō to Heijōkyō has had to be confronted because it is so important to how we interpret the historical and archaeological data. Restated briefly, the data overwhelmingly confirm that all four temples functioned actively in Fujiwarakyō after the capital was transferred to Heijō. (Kawaradera, of course, did not move, its place in the system taken by Kōfukuji). The sudden, enormously expensive abandonment of the newly constructed palace, government offices, workshops, residences, and the like is difficult to comprehend, particularly as it is now understood how very grand they really were. We do know, however, that this first great capital of Japan was never entirely forgotten. Symbolizing this, our seventh-century Four Great Temples continued to struggle on over the centuries, presumably with more religious than political dimensions in later years. One by one they lost their original magnificence, so that today they are only the palest reflection of the time when they were the most important temples in the land.

Why were these temples built and what functions did they have? Who used them and when? How do we explain their ultimate fates? These and similar questions are probably unanswerable due to inadequate evidence, and yet I cannot resist at least an attempt. All available data indicate that our four temples were the most impressive in early Yamato, each standing out as the major effort of its respective period. Evidently the elite believed that the substantial resources invested in such a project would yield commensurate benefits, since otherwise their construction would have been pointless. Significant is the fact that we do not see incremental work on an earlier temple, but rather building from scratch; the degree to which this resulted from competitive feelings is basically unknowable although normal human tendencies would suggest this as at least a partial motivation. Certainly the very splendor of the temples would indicate just such tendencies.

Perhaps more attention should be directed to the environment into which Buddhism arrived. Given the state of literacy in sixth-century Yamato, virtually nobody would have been able to read and understand the sutras written in classical Chinese. What, then, of the Soga founders of Asukadera? As a result of their connections on the Korean peninsula, and particularly with the kingdom of Paekche, they would have been very aware of the role of Buddhism as a powerful support for the state. Some, at least, of the Soga clan or their retainers would have visited the great temples on the Korean peninsula and possibly also in China and reported back to their leaders what they had seen and what this implied for statecraft. Consequently, as argued in Chapter 1, I see Asukadera as an overwhelmingly potent symbol of the strength of the Soga as the dominant force in Asuka politics. To what degree there was knowledge concerning the ethical pre-

cepts of the religion is uncertain, but it is evident that the magical powers of the Buddhist relics and icons, housed in magnificent halls and surrounded by walls, would have been supremely impressive. As I have maintained elsewhere, I conceptualize East Asian Buddhism more as a religion of icons than of texts, especially in its initial phases in China, Korea, and Japan. Of course, very few people actually saw these relics and icons in an elite temple like Asukadera, but their very presence was tangible and their effect significant, certainly more so than sutras. We will never know if a person such as Soga no Umako was a "devout" Buddhist, but it is obvious that he saw the value of Buddhism for his larger political program, and, of course, quite possibly he believed that it offered some hope for wishes such as assistance for dead relatives or his own existence after death.

In the 630s and 640s students from Yamato who had traveled to the Korean peninsula and China were beginning to return to their homeland; some had spent as many as thirty years abroad, making it likely that they were fully literate and had had the opportunity to study selected scriptures intensively under a master. Such priests, upon their return, doubtlessly assumed leadership positions and would have begun to train their own students. Consequently, by this stage there would have been a critical mass of knowledge concerning the basic beliefs of Buddhist thought and practice. The extent to which such knowledge could be conveyed to lay people is uncertain, but it is reasonable to assume that the needs of the laity did not differ substantially from those of the preceding era, and the emphasis probably continued to be focused on rituals associated with good health, the afterlife, and so forth. Ōhashi has argued strenuously that the vowing of Kudara Ōdera was motivated by the conversion of Jomei to Buddhism by priests who had returned from Tang China and thus he believes, as noted in Chapter 2, that this first "imperial" temple results from a conversion experience. Once again, it is essentially impossible to read Jomei's mind, but the most likely scenario is that he and his advisors could see the powerful role of a temple such as Asukadera and realized that they, too, needed to get on the bandwagon if they were to be better able to assert their authority.

With the fall of the main line of the Soga clan at mid-century, and the so-called Taika Reform, we see the beginning of many significant transformations in the Yamato polity, ones leading toward the establishment of a government associated with that "imperial" family articulated in *Nihon shoki*. I suspect that familiarity with Buddhist texts continued to advance at this stage, and certainly we see a substantial development in knowledge of various iconic types. Although affiliation with Buddhism was not widespread during the seventh century, the leaders of the principal clans and their families were certainly patrons of Buddhism, among other religious traditions, as can be seen in the establishment of numerous clan temples

in the central region, with other temples more widely dispersed in the periphery.

By the time of Tenji, Buddhism must have been naturalized to a large extent, and evidently Tenji and his court utilized the religion with no hesitation in buttressing their own positions. In that context, Tenji appears to have been the founder of Kawaradera, and he also vowed a full complement of temples in his Ōtsu capital. Similarly, Tenmu and Jitō were intimately associated with the vowing and construction of Yakushiji, and finally Monmu and his court decided that a much grander version of Daikandaiji had to be built, the temple we have referred to as Monmu Daikandaiji.

To recapitulate, I believe we can see a common thread running through the process of the establishment of the Four Great Temples, as each ruler and court vowed and built a grand temple as a sign of supremacy. The extent to which this process was motivated by personal piety, however that is defined, is unclear; by now it should be apparent that I am inclined to favor political motivations, although I certainly would never deny that more typically "religious" attitudes may also have been significant to a certain extent. Some may feel this is an impoverished conception of seventh-century Buddhism in Japan, and perhaps it is; nevertheless, it is my considered opinion that we are dealing with a political situation in the sense that the actions were based fundamentally on power relations, not piety. Of course, this is, to varying degrees, a common phenomenon throughout all religions at all times, but I will insist that in the case of the Four Great Temples, we are seeing the more politicized end of the spectrum. The degree to which similar interpretations are viable in the cases of important eighth-century temples such as Kōfukuji, Tōdaiji, and Saidaiji, or Heian temples such as Tōji and Saiji is a matter beyond the scope of this book. The Four Great Temples, in their original locations in the Asuka-Fujiwara region, gradually faded over the centuries, but their successors in Nara, as we have seen, continued to flourish to a greater or lesser extent as Gangōji, Daianji, and Yakushiji.

Notes

Introduction

1. Full archaeological description and analysis of the temples will be given in the following four chapters.

2. *Nihon shoki*, hereafter abbreviated to *NS*, covers the years from the time of the gods until the end of Jitō tennō's reign (697 CE). References will be to the Iwanami Shoten edition, abbreviated to "I" and to W. G. Aston's translation, *Nihongi*, abbreviated to "A." Citations will give the regnal year, followed by the Western equivalent year in parentheses and then the month and day, as relevant. All citations in this book will be to the second volume of Aston's translation.

3. *Shoku Nihongi*, hereafter abbreviated to *Shoku*, covers the years from the reign of Monmu tennō (697) until the middle of Kanmu tennō's reign (791). References will be to the Iwanami Shoten edition, abbreviated to "Aoki" and to Snellen's translation, abbreviated to "Snellen." All citations in this book will be to the first and second volumes of Aoki.

4. *Shoku*, Taihō 2 (702).12.25, Aoki, 62–63; Snellen, 205.

5. *Shoku*, Taihō 3 (703).1.5, Aoki, 64–65 ; Snellen, 207. While the "Great" is omitted from the designation, it must refer to our group.

6. This list is important in establishing the members of the group because there have been suggestions of other candidates, especially Sūfukuji near Tenji's Ōtsu capital.

7. *Shoku*, Taihō 3 (703).2.17, Aoki, 66–67; Snellen, 208. There is an error in the date in the text, giving the day as the 11th; see Aoki, 66, note 13. It is not clear if the Four Great Temples are included with the thirty-three or whether that group is entirely in addition to the four.

8. *Shoku*, Taihō 3 (703).3.10, Aoki, 66–67; Snellen, 208; and Taihō 3 (703).7.13, Aoki, 70-71; Snellen, 211.

9. *Shoku*, Keiun 2 (705).4.3, Aoki, 84–85; Snellen, 219. Aoki, 85, note 5, suggests that the additional temple may be either Shitennōji or Yamadadera, as they were mentioned in the Taihō 3.2.17 entry.

10. *Shoku*, Keiun 4 (707).6.15, Aoki, 114–115; Snellen, 239.

11. NS, Tenmu 15 (686).6.16 has a reference to the "four temples," without the term "great." Possibly this is an early conceptualization of the Four Great Temples, although I suspect that there was not yet a clear sense of the group.

12. For a discussion of the art of the Nara period and an analysis of the conceptualization of Buddhist art during that period, see Yiengpruksawan, "The Legacy of Buddhist Art in Nara" and Rosenfield, "Japanese Buddhist Art."

13. While it is always convenient (and satisfying) to attribute a major religious or historical phenomenon to a specific dated event, frequently such an attribution disguises what must have been a more gradual development, what is here referred to as a "process." The process by which Buddhism came to Japan will be discussed in the next chapter.

14. Since Hōryūji was not called this at the time under consideration, I have put the name within quotation marks, as I have also done with "Shōtoku Taishi" and "Shitennōji" in the next lines for the same reason.

15. Bibliographic information concerning *Gangōji engi* and *Daianji engi* will be given in Chapters 1 and 2.

16. Bibliographic information concerning *Tōtō satsumeiki* and *Yakushiji engi* will be given in Chapter 4.

17. Nomenclature is always a problem at this early period, especially with regard to the term *tennō* and the more general designation of the leader of the "imperial clan." Obviously "emperor" does not make much sense, and I have generally substituted "monarch" or "king."

18. Since these monarchs will be discussed later in this section, dates for their reigns will not be provided here.

19. This is another problem in terminology, since certainly there was no state equivalent to modern Japan at that time, so when I am referring to the specific geographical area I will normally use "Yamato" rather than "Japan."

20. In addition to these, there is also from the same date a *Hōryūji engi*. While this need not be considered for the present project, a full, historiographical analysis of the eighth-century texts would require a detailed analysis of *Hōryūji engi* as well.

21. A very useful analysis of these problems is Matsuki, "*Nihon shoki* hensan to *jiin engi*."

22. Piggott, *Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 287–292, gives useful accounts of *Nihon shoki* and *Shoku Nihongi*.

23. *NS*, Tenji 9 (670).4.30, A, 293; I, 374–375. Somewhat surprisingly, there is a similar entry for the previous year: *NS*, Tenji 8 (669).12, A, 292; I, 373. The 669 entry refers to Ikarugadera, presumably the original name of the temple, while the 670 entry uses the name Hōryūji. This issue cannot be considered here in detail, although I suspect that the Ikarugadera reference is a contemporary identification, with Hōryūji added by the compilers of *Nihon shoki* since by that stage this was the official name of the temple.

24. Recent dendrochronological analysis of the wood in the west compound indicates that the ceiling boards of the golden hall were cut in the later 660s, suggesting that the structure was begun prior to 670 since presumably the ceiling would be one of the final jobs. Even if true, this fact does not affect the present argument as these results basically confirm that the present west compound was worked on through the 670s and 680s. Somewhat more puzzling is the analysis of the central pillar of the pagoda, which yields a date of 594, presumably long before Ikarugadera was begun and more than one hundred years before the completion of the west compound pagoda in 711.

25. This plan, usually called the "Shitennōji plan," will be discussed later; basically, it is a simple, axial arrangement of all of the main buildings of a temple,

almost always oriented north-south. Japanese scholars frequently refer to the site of Ikarugadera as "Wakakusa garan," a much later descriptive term that tends to obscure the actual significance of the original temple.

26. For the historiography of Hōryūji, see Ōhashi, "Hōryūji bijutsu rikai no tame ni."

27. Since Yakushiji will be the topic of Chapter 4, only a brief treatment of the historiographical problem is called for here.

28. This would be Hakuhō in standard art historical terminology, where art historians divide the initial phases of Buddhist visual culture in Japan into Asuka, ca. 590–650, and Hakuhō, ca. 650–710. I discuss the very complex problems of periodization in a forthcoming monograph, "Hakuhō Sculpture."

29. Ōhashi, "Yakushiji no sōritsu to iten."

30. Kanō, "Kodai tojō to jiin no zōei."

31. Ozawa Kiyoshi, "Denshō Itabuki no miya ato no hakkutsu to Asuka no shogu." Since Ozawa has introduced important new material in the reprinted version of this article, cited in the Bibliography, it should be consulted if possible.

32. Although Fujiwarakyō is important for this study, and will be mentioned occasionally, the historical and archaeological issues are too complex to be dealt with here in appropriate detail. I am preparing a separate article on Fujiwarakyō.

33. The placement of Yakushiji will be considered in Chapter 4. Also important is the placement of Monmu Daikandaiji to be discussed in Chapter 2.

34. A sense of the Asuka region can be found in Asuka Hozon Dantai, ed., *Asuka ni manabu*. Significantly, Kibi Pond (Kudara Ōdera) is within the eastern side of the newly understood plan of Fujiwarakyō.

35. Fawcett, "Archaeology and Japanese Identity." See also her article "Nationalism and Postwar Japanese Archaeology."

36. For reasons I do not fully understand, the English name, at least for the *Bulletin*, retains "National," although that word does not appear in the Japanese name. Presumably those responsible see this as a more prestigious designation.

37. See Nabunken, *Asuka-Fujiwarakyō no miya ten: Nara bunkazai kenkyūjo sōritsu 50 shūnen kinen*. The exhibition traveled to four venues, including Osaka, Tokyo, Miyagi, and Mie.

38. Currently, extraordinary resources are being devoted to the reconstruction of Heijōkyō's Great Hall of State in anticipation of the 1,300th anniversary of the capital, which will fall in 2010.

39. For a recent account of the Kofun period, see Terasawa, *Ōken tanjō*.

40. Saeki, ed., *Kodai o kangaeru*.

41. Yoshimura, ed., *Kodai o kangaeru*.

42. For a recent account of the introduction of Buddhism to Japan, see Hongō, "Bukkyō denrai."

43. I have discussed the initial phases of Buddhism and Buddhist art in "The Earliest Buddhist Statues in Japan."

44. *NS*, Bidatsu (571 — prior to accession), A, 90; I, 132-133.

45. *NS*, Yōmei (585 — prior to accession), A, 106; I, 154.

46. For the early history of the Soga clan, see Kadowaki, *Asuka: Sono kodaishi to fūdo*.

47. The *kara* of Karako is a general term referring to Korea; Koma is the Japa-

nese pronunciation of Koryŏ, a variant designation for the kingdom referred to by modern historians as Koguryŏ.

48. Kadowaki, "Soga shi no shusshin"; Kadowaki, *Asuka*, 44–60. For critiques of Kadowaki's theory, see Katō, *Soga shi to Yamato ōken*, 10–25; Shida, "Soga shi no shusshin to hasshōchi," 20–26; Kumagai, "Soga shi no tōjō," 112. A variation on Kadowaki's theory is Suzuki Yasutami, "Soga shi wa Kudarajin ka."

Chapter 1: Asukadera

1. Books dealing with this period continue to be published at an amazing pace; representative examples include: Senda, *Asuka*; Shinokawa, *Asuka no chōtei to ōtō fu*; Wada, *Asuka*; Kawakami, *Asuka o horu*.

2. For the Asuka period I relied on Inoue, *Asuka no chōtei*; Piggott, *Japanese Kingship*; Kumagai, *Ōkimi kara tennō e*. As an early example of the usage of "Suiko," see Warner, *Japanese Sculpture of the Suiko Period*.

3. The bibliography on Shōtoku Taishi is endless; for a recent account, see Yoshimura, *Shōtoku Taishi*. I have adopted the name "Prince Stable Door" (Umayado no ōji) to call attention to the mischief caused by the normal designation, Shōtoku Taishi.

4. For the Shōtoku Taishi myth, see Tanaka, *Shōtoku Taishi shinkō no kenkyū*; and Takeda, *Shinkō no ōken*. For a denial of the existence of Shōtoku Taishi, see Ōyama, *"Shōtoku Taishi" no tanjō*. A good survey of the problem in English is Yoshida Kazuhiko, "The Thesis that Prince Shōtoku Did Not Exist."

5. Historiography for Hōryūji can be found in Ōhashi, *Hōryūji bijutsu ronsō no shiten*; and in Mori Ikuo, *Kawara to kodai jiin*, 41–105; for Shitennōji, Mori Ikuo, ibid., 106–114.

6. NS, Bidatsu 13 (584).2.8, A, 101; I, 148. For a general discussion of the three nuns, see Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō bukkyōshi*, vol. 1, "Sanni no shukke," 86–97. Tamura gives variants for these names (86). Henceforth references to "Sanni no shukke" will be Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō*. Katsuura, *Kodai-chūsei no josei to bukkyō*, 7–8. Hino, "Zenshin ni no denshō."

7. The problem of defining "immigrant" is perhaps too complex to be taken up here; basically, I would suggest that the term can be used if it is fully recognized that these people were major figures in the political, social, and religious world, not people employed by a pre-existing elite class.

8. Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō*, 88.

9. *NS*, Bidatsu 13 (584).2.8, I, 148–149; A, 101–102; Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō*, 86–87. My colleague, Professor William Bodiford, informs me that such stories are common.

10. *NS*, Bidatsu 14 (585).2.15, I, 148–149, A, 102; 2.24: I, 149, A, 102; Kadowaki, *Asuka*, 94–95.

11. *NS*, Bidatsu 14 (585).3.1, I, 150–151; A, 102–103. *NS*, Bidatsu 14 (585).3.30, I, 150–151; A, 103. Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō*, 91, gives examples of public flogging in the marketplace in Three Kingdoms Korea.

12. *NS*, Bidatsu 14 (585), I, 148–153; A, 102–104.

13. For Tasuna, the son of Shiba no Tatto and brother of the first nun, Zenshin,

see Hino, "Kuratsukuri be Tasuna no shukke ni tsuite." See *NS*, Yōmei 2 (587).4.2, A, 111; I, 160–161. *Jōroku*, literally "sixteen feet," is a standard term for measuring Buddhist statues. In the case of a seated *jōroku* statue, it would be half, or about eight feet. That Tasuna actually made such an image is most unlikely, and I assume this detail was added at some later period.

14. *NS*, Sushun, prior to accession (587).7, I, 162–167; A, 113–117. The significance of the 587 war has often been exaggerated, and it is probably best thought of as a symbolical delineation of the time of the acceptance of Buddhism by the elite. Obviously, because this account takes up almost half of the Sushun annals, scholars have considered it to be highly important.

15. The trip to Paekche is unsurprising, given the close connections of the Soga clan with that kingdom. *Nihon shoki* provides details as follows: request to travel: Sushun prelude (587).6.9, A, 113; I, 162–163 ; trip: Sushun 1 (588).this year, A, 118; I, 168–169; return: Sushun 3 (590).3, A, 118; I, 168–169. The trip is also covered in *Gangōji engi*, to be discussed below; Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō*, 98–99.

16. For the Soga clan after Iname, see Kadowaki, *Asuka,* 93–160. Katō, *Soga shi to Yamato ōken*, offers a more traditional approach.

17. See Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh*, for an extended treatment. I have considered some of the problems with this book in a review published in *Monumenta Nipponica*.

18. For Nara, see Yiengpruksawan, "Legacy of Buddhist Art."

19. For Kyoto, see any general textbook of Japanese art history. An important study of Heian Buddhist art is Fowler, *Murōji*.

20. See Yiengpruksawan, *Hiraizumi*.

21. McCallum, *Zenkōji and Its Icon*.

22. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, 8–9, contrasts the situations in China and Japan with regard to state control. Naobayashi, *Nihon kodai bukkyō seido shi kenkyū*, 19–109. Inoue, "Suiko chō no bukkyō tōsei."

23. *NS,* Suiko 32 (624).4.3, A, 152–153; I, 209.

24. I have presented a detailed analysis of the Kuratsukuri clan in McCallum, "Tori-busshi and the Production of Buddhist Icons in Asuka-period Japan." Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō*, 126–130, discusses the appointments. *Sōjo* and *sōzu* are titles used in the Southern Dynasties of China, transmitted via Paekche. The title *hōzu* is not found in China, or in Paekche or Silla, and is thought to refer to the person responsible for temple properties.

25. *NS,* Suiko 32 (624).9.3, A, 153–154; I, 210–211.

26. Naobayashi, *Bukkyō seido*, 19–23; Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō*, 121–130.

27. A convenient source for the structures associated with the Soga is Asuka Shiryōkan, ed., *Soga sandai*. The criticism of Soga extravagance in building can be found in *NS*, Kōgyoku 3 (644).11, A, 189–190; I, 259–261.

28. Kishi, *Nihon no kodai kyūto,* offers a good survey of all of the early palaces. For a more detailed account of the palaces of the period under consideration, see Ozawa, "Oharida miya, Asuka miya, Shima miya." This is included in his *Nihon kodai kyūto kōzō no kenkyū*, a version with additional material that should be consulted. Yagi, *Kenkyūshi*. For the Oharida inscriptions, see Nabunken, ed., *Asuka Fujiwara no miya ten*, 45, fig. 28. The characters on the pots are variants.

29. There are numerous sources on Asukadera. The fundamental archaeological study is Nabunken, ed., *Asukadera hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku*, which records the excavations of 1956–1957; hereafter abbreviated to "Asukadera, *Report*," Similar material, in an abbreviated format, can be found in Asuka Shiryōkan, ed., *Asukadera*. A readily accessible volume is Ōhashi, *Asuka no bunmei kaika*. As Ōhashi's approach will occupy us throughout this study, this book, devoted primarily to Asukadera, can serve as a good introduction to his ideas. Ōwaki, "Asukadera," is very useful. Additional sources will be cited as relevant.

30. See Asukadera, *Report*, Plans 1–14; plates 1–55.

31. The axial plan mentioned here is commonly referred to as the "Shitennōji plan" after the important temple in Osaka; however, as it was developed on the continent and frequently seen in Paekche, I prefer a more neutral designation, one that does not give special status to Shitennōji. There are a few temples with a different orientation, usually based on topographical features, such as Tachibanadera, which is east-west.

32. Mori Ikuo, "Garan haichi henka no yōsei."

33. For detailed discussion and full illustration of the Hōryūji structures, see Nara Rokudaiji Taikan Kankōkai, ed., *Nara rokudaiji taikan*, vol. 1, *Hōryūji*. Hereafter abbreviated to *NRT*.

34. For Meiji and Taishō research, see Mōri Hisashi, "Asuka daibutsu no shūhen," note 1. This article was republished in Mōri Hisashi's *Nihon bukkyō chōkokushi no kenkyū*. Hereafter abbreviated to Mōri Hisashi, "Asuka daibutsu," either "article" or "book."

35. I put the title of Fukuyama's article in the text to indicate its extraordinary significance. It first appeared in *Shigaku zasshi* in 1934 and subsequently in his book *Nihon kenchikushi kenkyū* in 1968. Hereafter abbreviated to Fukuyama, "Asukadera," either "article" or "book."

36. For *Gangōji engi* I have used Sakurai Tokutarō et al., *Jisha engi*. The *Gangōji garan engi narabi ni ruki shizaichō* appears twice in Sakurai's volume, first in the modern Japanese translation on pp. 7–20 and then in the original text on pp. 328–333. Asuka Shiryōkan, *Asukadera*, 20–21, 48–63, is also useful because it gives a reproduction of the original text as well as a translation. There is a partial translation into English: Stevenson, "The Founding of the Monastery Gangōji and a List of Its Treasures." Unfortunately, she does not translate one of the most important sections of the text for our purposes, *Jōroku kōmei*. Hereafter these cites are abbreviated to *GE*, either Sakurai, Asuka Shiryōkan, or Stevenson.

37. These divisions can be found as follows: *GE*, Sakurai, (1), p. 8, lines 1–3; (2), p. 8, line 4 to p. 15, line 7; (3), p. 15, line 8 to p. 18, line 11; (4), p. 18, lines 12–14; (5), p. 18, lines 14–18; (6), p. 19, line 1 to p. 20, line 3; (7), p. 20, line 4 to p. 21, line 3. *GE*, Stevenson, (1) p. 304, lines 1–6; (2), p. 304, line 7 to p. 311, line 1; (3). 311, line 1 [from "Furthermore, on the first day . . ."] to p. 313, second line from bottom; (4), p. 313, last line to p. 314, line 7; (5), p. 314, lines 8–15; (6), p. 314, line 16 to bottom of page; (7), not translated.

38. *Tō roban mei* is the inscription said to have been on the pagoda *roban*. The *roban*, or "dew basin," is one element in the complicated structure that emerges from the top of the pagoda. *Jōroku kōmei* refers to the mandorla inscription on the sixteen-foot Buddha image.

39. Ōhashi, *Asuka no bunmei kaika*, 219, disagrees with Fukuyama's analysis.

40. The second part begins at *GE*, Sakurai, p. 19, line 15; *GE*, Stevenson, p. 315, line 4.

41. *NS*, Suiko 13 (605).4.1 [at this time], I: 186–187; A: 134, records the king of Koguryŏ's gift as 300 ryō, rather than 320, as in *Jōroku kōmei*. The name given for the king does not correspond to the monarch at that time in Koguryŏ. In *Jōroku kōmei*, following this story, there is mention of the Sui ambassador's arrival, but nothing is said about the gold although it is frequently implied that he actually brought it.

42. Since these details are directly associated with the making of the sixteen-foot icons, I will postpone a full analysis until the section entitled "Icons."

43. Another important analysis of *Gangōji engi* is Tamura, "*Gangōji ko engi* (*Gangōji garan engi narabi ni ruki shizaichō*) shishaku, shikō."

44. Generally I avoid using the terms "nunnery" and "monastery," preferring "temple" as a word more closely related to function. However, here it would be awkward to speak of male and female temples or something of the sort, so I have utilized the standard terminology for the sake of clarity.

45. Such an admission would be out of character for *Nihon shoki*, where the blame for the persecution of Buddhism is placed on the Mononobe and Nakatomi clans.

46. As should be apparent, Fukuyama treated most of the text with considerable skepticism, an attitude that I strongly endorse. There is, however, an even more drastically critical approach to the text, one that sees it as almost entirely a later fabrication with essentially no historical validity; see Yoshida, "*Gangōji garan engi narabi ni ruki shizaichō* no shinpyōsei." Yoshida does not believe that *Tō roban mei* and *Jōroku kōmei* are based on early texts, and he accounts for the archaic elements in what Fukuyama classified as "(a) Second half of the *Tō roban mei* — 596 or shortly thereafter," as resulting from efforts by the later compilers to take words and phrases from very early texts. Anything is possible, but the degree of devious cleverness necessary to produce such a forgery seems to me, at least, unlikely. For example, while the compilers in producing *Tō roban mei* could have taken some of the names of supervisors from *Nihon shoki*, there are several names of local supervisors who appear only in *Tō roban mei*, and I think it is quite implausible to imagine that Yoshida's hypothetical forgers would go to the trouble of fabricating such names. Yoshida makes a brief reference to his theories in "Revisioning Religion in Ancient Japan," where he states on page 3 that *Gangōji engi* is "probably a much later forgery of the later Heian period."

47. Mōri Hisashi, "Asuka daibutsu," article, 23–38, book, 9–27.

48. Machida, "Gangōji honzon: Asuka daibutsu"; republished in his *Jōdai chōkokushi no kenkyū*, 127–150; hereafter abbreviated to Machida, "Gangōji honzon," "article" or "book."

49. Berthier, "Asukadera mondai no saiginmi, sono honzon o chūshin to shite."

50. Machida, "Asuka daibutsu ni tsuite: Beruchie shi no hihan ni kotaeru"; republished in his *Jōdai chōkokushi no kenkyū*, 150–158; hereafter abbreviated to Machida, "Reply to Berthier," either "article" or "book."

51. Kuno, "Asuka daibutsu ron."

52. *NS*, Sushun 5 (592).10, I, 170–171; A, 119.

53. Ōhashi, "Asukadera no sōritsu ni kansuru mondai." Ōhashi's approach relies

on documentary evidence for work on temples, especially the very clear sequence described for the early buildings at Yamadadera.

54. *GE* (Tsuchinoe-saru year = 588), Sakurai, 19–20, Stevenson, 315; *NS*, Sushun 1 (588).this year, A, 117, I, 168–169. A convenient tabulation can be found in Berthier, "Asukadera mondai," 56–57.

55. For the vowing of Asukadera, see *NS*, Sushun 1 (587).7, A,114; I, 164–165.

56. *GE*, Sakurai, 12–13; Stevenson, 308–309. Tamura, "Amadera to hōshidera." Also useful is the same author's "Hōkōji no sōken."

57. In addition to Ōhashi's specific analysis of the Asukadera project, my understanding of a construction sequence in general terms was very much influenced by Smith, *How the Great Pyramid Was Built*, especially Appendix 4, 252–261, "A Primer on Program Management." Although building an enormous masonry pyramid is very different from the construction of a wooden temple, the organizational problems are not totally dissimilar, and Smith's experience as a construction manager enables him to explain with great lucidity many of the factors involved.

58. *NS*, Sushun 1 (588). this year, A: 118; I: 168–169.

59. Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō*, 105.

60. For a discussion of the site of Asukadera, see Kadowaki, *Asuka*, 112; Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō*, 53–54. Ōwaki, "Soga shi no ujidera kara mita sono honkyo." *NS*, Sushun 1 (588). this year, A,118; I, 168–169.

61. My discussion of the technical details of construction relies heavily on Ōhashi, "Asukadera sōritsu," 12–14. *NS*, Sushun 3 (590).10, A, 118; I, 168–169. *GE*, Sakurai, 14, 330. (This section missing from Stevenson.)

62. *NS,* Sushun 5 (592).10. this month, A, 119; I, 170–171; Suiko 1 (593).1.15, A, 121–122; I, 172–173; Suiko 4 (596).11, A, 124; I, 174–175.

63. Ordinarily in early temples in Japan the golden hall was built first, followed by the pagoda. In the case of Asukadera, however, that does not seem to be the case.

64. What I refer to as the "foundation platform" is often called the "podium."

65. Asukadera*, Report*, 16–17, 43, figs. 6–11, plan 3.

66. Ibid., 16–17, figs. 6, 8.1, 20.1–3, 34.1–2, plan 6.

67. Ibid, 17–18, 42, figs. 21–32, plans 6–7.

68. Ibid, 18–19, 43–44, (east), figs. 12–15, plan 4: (west), figs. 16–19, plan 5.

69. The term *nijū kidan* has two meanings: one for the rather simple platform seen here, and another for a much more elaborate type of a later period.

70. For a discussion of Korean foundations and their connections with Japan, see Kitano, "Nihon ni okeru danjō zumi kidan no seiritsu to shoki no Shiragi kei yōso."

71. Tsuboi, *Asukadera*, 16–17. For an illustration of a possible reconstruction of the east and west golden halls, see Asahi Shinbunsha, ed., *Kokuhō to rekishi no tabi,* 8.

72. Tsuboi, *Asukadera*, 17.

73. Asukadera*, Report*, 19–21, 41–42, figs. 35–40, plan 8. Asano, "Asukadera no kenchiku," especially 13–14.

74. Asukadera*, Report*, 21, 41, figs. 41–44, plans 8, 12.

75. Tsuboi, *Asukadera*, 18–19.

76. Asukadera, *Report*, 21–22, 40, (gate), 45–47, plan 9; (paved area), figs. 48–49, plan 10.

77. Asukadera, *Report*, 23–24, 40–41, figs. 54–55, plan 12. Asuka Shiryōkan, *Asukadera*, 39. Asano, "Asukadera," 16, relates this gate to one at Sabi (Paekche) with exactly the same dimensions. Additional information can be found in Onogi, "Asukadera saimon shutsudo dokan no kentō."

78. Asukadera, *Report*, 22–23, figs. 50–51, plan 11. Asano, "Asukadera," 9–13, discusses the lecture hall in detail, pointing out ways in which it differs from other structures at the temple. Additional excavations were carried out in Fall 2006. The lecture hall is slightly off proper directional alignment.

79. Asuka Shiryōkan, *Asukadera*, 43.

80. Senda, "Asukadera to Ishibutai kofun kara kangaeru." Kim Chang-ki, "Kankoku kara mita Nihon kodai jiin," 17, suggests a Koguryŏ prototype via Paekche.

81. There is an extensive literature on tiles in Japanese. Mori Ikuo's two volumes, *Kawara to kodai jiin* and *Zoku kawara to kodai jiin*, are a good place to start. A brief discussion in English is Mori Ikuo, "Korean Influence and Japanese Innovations in Tiles of the Asuka-Hakuhō Period." See also Inagaki, *Kodai no kawara*.

82. Archaeologists would probably refer to this as a typological evolution, and certainly the tiles can be readily analyzed within this framework. Nevertheless, I believe that there are important stylistic aspects that can be studied very appropriately from an art-historical perspective. This point will be developed in the course of our analysis of all of the tiles.

83. A convenient source, with good illustrations and descriptions (partially in English), for the various categories of tiles is Nabunken, Asuka-Fujiwara Miya Ato Hakkutsu Chōsabu, ed., *Fujiwara miya to kyō*, 84–99.

84. Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, ed., *Renge hyakusō*, provides an excellent account of the early phases of roof-tile development in Japan; for Asukadera, see 15–20; comprehensive bibliography, 91–92. For the diffusion of the Asukadera tiles, see Osaka Furitsu Chikatsu Asuka Hakubutsukan, *Kawachi*, 68.

85. Pak Yonchin, "Kudara gatō no taikeiteki bunrui."

86. Yamamoto and Edwards, "Early Buddhist Temples in Japan," provide a good discussion of these issues. For a very detailed treatment, see Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, ed., *Renge hyakusō,* 72–77. While Yamamoto and Edwards deal with a third category — "snow group" (*yukigumi*), *Renge hyakusō,* 74–76, places these tiles in a Koguryŏ category based on their connection with that kingdom. Since these tiles are concentrated at Toyuradera, the mate to Asukadera, and are not found at the latter, this is a topic that cannot be dealt with here. For excellent illustrations of the *hanagumi* and *hoshigumi* types, showing the round eave-end and the main part of the tile, see Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Hōryūji,* 122, fig. 74.

87. For further discussion and illustration of Asukadera and related tiles, see: Asukadera, *Report*, 32–36, figs. 64–69; Asuka Shiryōkan, *Asukadera*, 46–47, figs. 7, 22–23; Mori Ikuo, *Kawara to kodai jiin*, 36–40.

88. Paine and Soper, *Art and Architecture of Japan*, (1975), 291–296. Suzuki Ka-

kichi, *Early Buddhist Architecture in Japan*. The standard group of buildings, seen in China and Korea, are: golden hall, pagoda, lecture hall, sutra hall, belfry, refectory, and priests' quarters.

89. Morse and Morse, *Object as Insight*. Brinker, "Sublime Adornment."

90. For the pagoda form, see Hamada, *Jisha kenchiku no kanshō kisoteki chishiki*, 68–87.

91. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*.

92. Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Busshari to hōju*. Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*.

93. The fire was in the year Kenkyū 7 (1196).6.7, and the relics were dug up from Kenkyū 8 (1197).3.24. See *Moto Gangōji tōge horidasu goshari engi*, reproduced in Asuka Shiryōkan, *Asukadadera*, 15–18, or *Dai Nihon shiryō* 4.5 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan Kai, 1969), 404–406.

94. Kuno, "Asuka daibutsu ron," 2, 91.

95. McCallum, "The Earliest Buddhist Statues in Japan," 155–156, discusses this image. Hino, "Bidatsu ki no Miroku seki butsu to sono shūhen."

96. McCallum, "Tori busshi," 24–25.

97. Ishida, *Asuka zuisō*, 197–200; four of Ogawa's photos can be seen on 198, fig. 145; Ōhashi, *Asuka bunmei,* 71–74, retells Ishida's story.

98. With, *Buddhistische Plastik in Japan*, figs. 82–85. For some reason With misidentified the image, calling it "Kacyapa-Buddha," and incorrectly placed it at Daigoji. An illustration also appears in Warner, *Japanese Sculpture of the Suiko Period*, fig. 17, with a brief, largely inaccurate discussion on 24. Warner's photo is very similar (identical?) to one of With's, indicating that the pictures were both part of the same photographic series. Apparently the illustrations in the books of With and Warner were taken very early, perhaps even before Ishida's 1917 visit.

99. Fukuyama, "Asukadera," book, 189; article, 1260–1261.

100. Mizuno Seiichi, "Asuka daibutsu ni tsuite."

101. Mōri Hisashi, "Asuka daibutsu." In the following paragraphs I will offer parenthetical page citations in the text in order to avoid excessive endnotes. These will refer to his book, *Nihon bukkyō chōkokushi no kenkyū*, 9–27.

102. Fujisawa Kazuo, "Iwayuru Tori busshi to Gangōji zōbutsu ni tsuite," especially 20–21.

103. *GE*, Sakurai, 18; *GE*, Stevenson, 313. Mōri Hisashi, "Asuka daibutsu," 15. Mōri read the character here given as "north" as the similar character for "earth," although in the context "north" seems more likely.

104. McCallum, "The Earliest Buddhist Statues in Japan," 151–156.

105. Machida, "Gangōji honzon," book, 127–150, article, 9–17.

106. For technical analysis, see Machida, "Gangōji honzon," book, 144–146, article, 16–17; more detail on Asuka casting techniques will be found in Nishikawa Kyōtarō, "Hōryūji Kondō Shaka.".

107. Berthier, "Asukadera mondai." (Page references given in parentheses.)

108. Machida, "Reply to Berthier," book, 150–158; article, 98–105.

109. Kuno, "Asuka daibutsu ron," 37–49 refer to Part I; 88–89 to Part II.

110. For a discussion of the stone pedestal, see Kinoshita and Ōwaki, "Asukadera kyū honzon daiza no chōsa."

111. For criticism of Kuno, see Ōhashi, *Asuka bunmei*, 213.

112. Ōhashi, "Asukadera sōritsu."

113. In *GE*, Sakurai, *Jōroku komei* is on 20–21; the first ten lines present a fabricated account of royal patronage of Gangōji; the following eight lines give the information cited by Ōhashi.

114. Goodrich, *Japanese in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, 32–33; *NS*, Suiko 16 (608).4–9.11, I, 189–193; A, 136–139. These early diplomatic missions between China and Yamato are of crucial significance for the Asuka period; see Inoue, *Asuka no chōtei*, 246–251.

115. *GE*, Sakurai, 21. There is, of course, the possibility that the compilers of *Jōroku komei* added this impressive detail to their text on the basis of other records. In fact, *Jōroku komei* requires a more careful exegesis than I have space for here.

116. McCallum, "Tori busshi," 34–36.

117. Ōhashi, "Kuratsukuri Tori no zōbutsu gihō no shūtoku ni tsuite."

118. The following page citations in the text will be prefaced by *Bunmei*.

119. For the making of the Yamadadera Kōdō Yakushi triad, see Kuno, "Kōfukuji no buttō."

120. McCallum, "Tori busshi," 36–37.

121. For the hall where Umako installed Kafuka no omi's Miroku, see *NS*, Bidatsu 13 (584). this year, A, 101; I, 148–149; this entry states that Umako built a "Buddha Hall" to the east of his house. Ōhashi, *Bunmei*, 220–221, cites a passage in *Shōtoku taishi denreki* that says "[Kafuka no omi's Miroku] is in the east golden hall of Gangōji." These two statements appear to relate to a structure to the east and thus the suggestion that the stone Miroku was in the east golden hall at Asukadera is plausible.

122. Citations given in notes 9 and 10 above.

Chapter 2: Kudara Ōdera

1. Kadowaki, *Soga Emishi-Iruka*; hereafter Kadowaki, *Emishi*.

2. Tōyama Mitsuo, "Jomei sokui zen funsō no ichi kōsatsu."

3. The problem as to when the locus of power shifted from the Soga to the royal clan is too complex to deal with here, but in general terms I suspect that the balance was on the Soga side through the middle of the seventh century and came to an end only after the anti-Soga coup traditionally conceived of as the "Taika Reform."

4. For the proportions, see *NS*, Jomei annals, I, 216–235, of which 216–226 describe the succession dispute and A, 157–170, 157–164, provides a translation of the succession dispute. By way of comparison, the annals of Bidatsu, Yōmei, Suiko, Kōgyoku, Saimei, and Tenji devote only a few lines to succession accounts, and even where there is a somewhat longer account (Sushun, Kōtoku, and Tenmu), these are much shorter than that of Jomei.

5. *NS,* Jomei 6 (634).8, I, 230–231; A, 166.

6. *NS,* Jomei 7 (635).1, I, 230–231; A, 167.

7. *NS,* Jomei 8 (636).1.1, I, 230–231; A, 167.

8. *NS,* Jomei 8 (636).3, I, 230–231; A, 167.

9. *NS,* Jomei 9 (637).2.23, I, 231; A, 167.

10. *NS,* Jomei 10 (638).7.19, I, 232–233; A, 168.

11. In addition to the cosmological events, there are also quite frequent references to visits by Jomei to hot springs.

12. *NS,* Jomei 2 (630).8.5, I, 228–229; A, 165.

13. *NS,* Jomei 4 (632).4.8, I, 229; A, 166, for the mission of Gao Biaoren; *NS*, Jomei 5 (633).1.26, I, 230–231; A, 166, for Gao's return to China. Envoys from the Korean peninsula are seen in 635 (Paekche), 638 (Paekche, Silla, and "Mimana"), 639 (Silla), and 640 (Paekche and Silla). Few or no details are provided as to these missions.

14. *NS,* Jomei 4 (632).4.8, I, 229; A, 166. They returned with the Gao mission.

15. *NS,* Jomei 11 (639).9, I, 234–235; A, 169.

16. *NS,* Jomei 12 (640).10.11, I, 234–235; A, 170.

17. Ōhashi, "Kudara Ōdera zōei kō," 18; hereafter Ōhashi, "Kudara Ōdera."

18. Kumagai, "Nihon Kudara Ōdera no zōei to higashi Ajia," especially 241–244. The volume in which this article appears, Tōhoku Gakuin Daigaku, ed., *Rekishi to bunka* 40, *Higashi Ajia 6–7 seki ni okeru chokuganji,* contains a comprehensive discussion of all of the important nine-story pagodas in East Asia; hereafter abbreviated to *Higashi Ajia chokuganji*.

19. *NS*, Jomei 13 (641).10.18, I, 224–225; A, 170. A *mogari no miya* is a place of temporary interment where ceremonies were held prior to the final burial.

20. Mifune, "Kudara Ōdera no zōei to sono seikaku." Kumagai, "Nihon Kudara Ōdera," 234, is critical of Mifune's approach.

21. Satake et al., eds., *Man'yoshu*; Levy, *The Ten Thousand Leaves: A Translation of the Man'yōshū,* 38.

22. Shinokawa, "Kōgyoku-Saimei."

23. *NS*, Kōgyoku 2 (643).11.1, I, 250–253; A, 181–183. For details on the assassination of Prince Yamashiro and the accompanying events, see Kadowaki, *Emishi,* 129–133.

24. *NS*, Kōgyoku 4 (645).6.12, A, 192; I, 262–263. For the fall of the main line of the Soga, see Kadowaki, *Emishi,* 161–164; and Yokota, "Soga honsōke no metsubō to Taika Kaishin."

25. *NS*, Kōgyoku 4 (645).6.13, A, 193; I, 264–265.

26. *NS*, Kōgyoku 4 (645).13.6, A, 193; I, 264–265. For details of the tombs of Emishi and Iruka, see, Asuka Shiryōkan, *Soga Sandai*, 60–61.

27. *NS*, Kōgyoku 4 (645).13.6, I, 264–265; A, 193–194.

28. Satō, "Taika kaishin wa atta darō ka," presents a good historiographical survey. For a general account, see Tōyama, *Taika kaishin*. A very detailed discussion is Kadowaki, *"Taika kaishin" shiron*.

29. The full name is Naniwa Nagara Toyosaki Palace. For a comprehensive study, see Nakao, *Naniwa no miya no kenkyū*; interesting essays are in Naoki, ed., *Kodai o kangaeru*.

30. *NS*, Kōtoku 1 (645).8.8, A, 202–203; I, 276–277. The *jisshi* are discussed in I, 570–571. For more detailed information, see Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō,* 221–229.

31. Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō*, 222–227, provides a full analysis of the Ten Teachers.

32. For the Ten Teachers, see Naobayashi, *Bukkyō seido*, 113–224; Nakai, *Bukkyō seido*, 48–73. For Ekan, see *NS*, Suiko 33 (625).1.7, A, 154; I, 211–212. Aston has this placed at Suiko 32 (624). There is some debate as to the relationship between Shamon Koma Daihōshi and Ekan. *NS*, I, 211, note 20, equates the former with Fukutei, the following name on the list of Ten Teachers, but Naobayashi, *Bukkyō seido*, 155, argues, convincingly in my view, for the identification suggested above. See also Nakai, *Bukkyō seido*, 53.

33. Presumably "Kudaradera" refers to Kudara Ōdera, but Kumagai, "Nihon Kudara Ōdera," 236, 264–265, maintains that Kudaradera was the original name for the temple and that the "O" (great) was added only later. Ozawa, in his comments on Kumagai's essay (Higashi Ajia chokuganji 264), argues in favor of Kudara Ōdera as the original designation.

34. For *Daianji garan engi narabi ruki shizaichō* I used the version in *Daianji shi shiryō*, hereafter abbreviated to *DE*.

35. *NS*, Jomei 11 (639).7, A, 169; I, 234–235. Apparently "western subjects" referred to those living considerably to the west of the capital and "eastern subjects" to those far to the east. *Nihon shoki*, Kōgyoku 1 (642).9.19, uses similar terminology to designate those ordered to build the new palace, the subjects to the west associated with Aki Province (Hiroshima) and those to the east with Tōtōmi Province (Shizuoka). Since the entry of the third day of the same month is Kōgyoku's command to build a "great temple," some authorities consider that of the nineteenth day as referring to the "great palace" ordered by Jomei, others associate the 9.19 order with the Asuka Itabuki Palace. Kumagai, "Nihon Kudara Ōdera," 263–264, is doubtful that the court had the power at this stage to draft workers from distant provinces.

36. *NS*, Jomei 11 (639).12, A, 169; I, 234–235.

37. *NS*, Kōgyoku 1 (642).9.3, A, 176; I, 242–243. The small type for "This is Kudara Ōdera" is meant to indicate the smaller typeface in the *Nihon shoki* text that indicates a note rather than the main text.

38. *DE,* 541; Tsukaguchi, "Kudara Ōdera ni kansuru kisoteki kōsatsu," 231.

39. *DE,* 541; Tsukaguchi, "Kudara Ōdera," 231–232.

40. *DE,* 541; Tsukaguchi, "Kudara Ōdera," 231–232.

41. *DE,* 541; Tsukaguchi, "Kudara Ōdera," 232

42. Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō*, 201–205.

43. Kumagai, "Nihon Kudara Ōdera," 241–244, 248–251.

44. Ibid., 244–246, 251–252.

45. Tsukaguchi, "Kudara Ōdera," 235.

46. Full documentary evidence for this move, and the changes of name, will be presented later.

47. For Shōtoku Taishi at the Akunami Palace, see Mifune "Kudara Ōdera," 2, 6–7.

48. Fukuyama, "Nukatadera (Gakuanji)"; this research is similar to that concerning Asukadera discussed in Chapter 1, and although later scholars have found flaws in his arguments, it remains a fundamental contribution; Katata Osamu, "Daianji no sōsō ni tsuite"; Mizuno Ryūtarō, "*Daianji garan engi narabi ruki shizaichō* ni tsuite."

49. For the Kumagori narrative, see Mifune, "Kudara Ōdera," 6–7; Hoshino, "Daianji no Kumagori sōsō densetsu ni tsuite."

50. See Mifune, "Kudara Ōdera," 7; Hoshino, "Daianji no Kumagori sōsō," 51. For greater detail on the relationship between the Nukatabe and the Akunami Palace, see Kanō, "Nukatabe muraji to Akunami kōri."

51. See Matsuo, "Suiko tennō."

52. See Uehara, "Nukatadera shutsudo kawara no saikentō"; for an illustration of the tile, see 137, fig. 38.

53. Hoshino, "Daianji no Kumagori," 54–55; idem, "Dōji den no seiritsu to Daianji."

54. Earlier we saw how a similar strategy was adopted by Gangōji in order to suggest an association with the royal family rather than the Soga.

55. For the historiography of the location of Kudara Ōdera, see Ozawa, "Kibi ike haiji no hakkutsu chōsa," especially 43–45, Asuka Shiryōkan, *Maboroshi no Ōdera,* 19–33, especially 23–30. Nabunken, *Kibi ike haiji hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku*, 153–155; hereafter *Kibi Report*.

56. For Kudaradera, see Asuka Shiryōkan, *Maboroshi no Ōdera,* 20. Inoue, *Asuka no chōtei*, 269–270.

57. Ōmi, "Kibi ike haiji wa Kudara Ōdera ka: Kudara Ōdera to Takechi Ōdera no shozaichi o megutte." This appears in *Shinpojiumu: Kibi ike haiji o megutte — Kudara Ōdera wa doko ka*, ed. Tezukayama Daigaku Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, a volume hereafter abbreviated to Tezukayama, *Kudara Ōdera Symposium*.

58. Wada, "Mogari no kisoteki kōsatsu"; idem, "Kudara miya saikō," especially 30–31.

59. Sataki et al., *Man'yōshū* 2–199; Levy, *Ten Thousand Leaves*, 127–130.

60. For the Kudara no ie, see *NS*, Tenmu 1 (672).6.29, I, 394–395; A, 311. Tōyama Mitsuo discusses the location of the Kudara House in *Jinshin no ran*, 168–172. This war will be discussed in Chapter 4.

61. Wada acknowledges the new research findings in *Asuka*, 77–79.

62. Yamazaki, "Kōki kofun to Asuka-Hakuhō jiin," especially 210–211, note 148.

63. Kinoshita, *Asuka maboroshi no tera*, 131–134, examines the theory that Kinomoto haiji is Kudara Ōdera and on 217–227 the theory that it is Takechi Ōdera.

64. The enormous nine-story pagoda ordered by Grand Dowager Empress Ling in ca. 516 at Yongningsi is perhaps the beginning of this sequence; see Thorp and Vinograd, *Chinese Art and Culture*, 166, and a reconstruction by Yang Hongxun, fig. 5.13.

65. See Hoshino, "Kudara Ōdera no sōritsu ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu," especially 53.

66. Katata Osamu, "Daianji no sōsō," 36–46; Mizuno, "*Daianji garan engi narabi ruki shizaichō* ni tsuite," 45–56; Ōhashi, "Kudara Ōdera," 20–22.

67. Kinoshita, *Asuka maboroshi no tera*, 23, points out that the building of the Kudara Palace took longer than was ordinarily the case, which suggests that it may have been a quite monumental structure intended to match a "great temple."

68. Kumagai, "Nihon Kudara Ōdera," 237.

69. Ibid., 238–240, 248; Ozawa (Higashi Ajia chokuganji, 261), in his com-

ments of Kumagai's theory, argues vigorously against this rapid construction hypothesis.

70. In addition to Ōhashi's analysis of the Asukadera sequence and chronology discussed in the previous chapter, an interesting comparative example is seen in Paekche: the great temple Wanghŭngsa in Sabi, the capital, was begun by King Pŏp in 600 and only completed in 634 by his son, King Mu.

71. *NS*, Kōtoku, Taika 1 (645).8.8, I, 276–277; A, 202. Tamura, *Asuka-Hakuhō*, 221, gives Asukadera as the temple in question. Kumagai, "Nihon Kudara Ōdera," 254, also believes that the reference is to Asukadera, although for different reasons.

72. *Kibi Report*, 9, Table 1, lists eight excavations, one carried out by the Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (1984) and the rest by Sakurai City.

73. Maezono, "Iware no kōkogakuteki kankyō," cited in Ozawa, "Kibi ike hakkutsu," 30.

74. Ōwaki, "Kibidera wa nakkata."

75. Although Yamadadera was a much less important temple than Kudara Ōdera, the truly extraordinary finds there evoked one of the most comprehensive excavations yet carried out in Japan; see Nabunken, ed., *Yamato Yamadadera ato*.

76. There are three important sources for the 1997 campaign: Ozawa, "Kibi ike hakkutsu;" Nabunken, *Nenpō* 1997–II, 85–92 (largely the same as the preceding); and Nabunken, *Kibi Report.* In addition, there are the pamphlets distributed at the end of each campaign for the public explanation session (*genchi setsumeikai*), but as these are ephemeral, I will not cite them here, although they are useful in understanding the progress of the excavations each year.

77. For the excavation of the southeast mound, see Ozawa, "Kibi ike hakkutsu," 32–37; Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1997–II, 85–92; and *Kibi Report*,14–15, 38–45.

78. For the initial reports, see Ozawa, "Kibi ike hakkutsu," 39–47; and Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1997–II, 91–92.

79. Ozawa, "Kibi ike hakkutsu," 33; Nabunken, *Nenpō* 1997–II, 87–88; and *Kibi Report*, 38–41. The determination of the *horikomi jigyō* and other features is based on subtle differences in the color and texture of the soil; see *Kibi Report,* figs. 34–35, 37–38, for diagrams illustrating the various types of soil and plate 6.1 for a photograph that clearly shows the borders between types of soil.

80. The layers of *hanchiku* were between 2 and 15 cm thick, with the average being around 5 cm, and there were forty-six layers at the west side. Various types of mountain soil were utilized for the *hanchiku*. See *Kibi Report*, 38; Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 87.

81. This drainage ditch is SD102 on the plan; see *Kibi Report*, fig. 6.4; Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 87.

82. *Kibi Report*, 39; Nabunken, *Nenpō*, 1997–II, 87.

83. The "dog walk" is the area between the rainwater gutter and the base of the platform.

84. Ozawa, "Kibi ike hakkutsu," 35; Nabunken, *Nenpō* 1997–II, 89.

85. *Kibi Report*, 41. This section of the report was written by Hakozaki Kazuhisa and Hashimoto Teruhisa.

86. *Kibi Report*, 41–42; 73–74, notes 11–13.

87. *Kibi Report*, 42; 74, note 14.

88. Ozawa, "Kibi ike hakkutsu," 32; Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1997–II, 89; and *Kibi Report,"* 41.

89. *Kibi Report*, 38. This trench is numbered SX 103 and can be seen in figs. 34–35, 37 and plate 7.3.

90. Ozawa, "Kibi ike hakkutsu," 35; Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1997–II, 87–89; and *Kibi Report*, 15.

91. Ozawa, "Kibi ike hakkutsu," 35; Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1997–II, 89 ; and *Kibi Report*, 44.

92. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1997–II, 89; and *Kibi Report,* 38.

93. *Kibi Report*, 178.

94. *Kibi Report*, 178–183, 182, fig. 109, offers tentative plans for the three reconstructions. No small tiles appropriate for a *mokoshi* were discovered at the site, strongly indicating that this element was not present. A *mokoshi* is an enclosure with a pent roof.

95. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1998–II, 58–68.

96. Ibid., 1998–II, 61; *Kibi Report*, 48.

97. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1998–II, 65; *Kibi Report*, 183, 191 note 12. The sketch of the Daikandaiji heart stone was made by Okamoto Tōru. For an illustration of the Niji haiji heart stone, see Yamashita, "Niji haiji no hakkutsu chōsa," plate 11. As noted in *Kibi Report*, 191, note 12, the size of the heart stone does not necessarily correlate directly with the height of the pagoda, but obviously there is a general correlation in most cases.

98. For discussion of the placement of heart stones, see Suzuki Kakichi, *Jōdai no jiin kenchiku*, 110. *Kibi Report*, 183, notes that the heart stone at Ikarugadera is also placed at the top of the platform. This factor, combined with the form of the Kibi Pond flat eave-end roof tiles, to be considered below, has been taken as further indication of a relationship between the two temples.

99. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1998–II, 61–62; *Kibi Report*, 47–48.

100. Possibly there is a chronological significance to this difference.

101. *Kibi Report*, 50.

102. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1998–II, 64, fig. 64.

103. This discussion is based on *Kibi Report*, 183–185; see 184, fig. 110, for comparative plans and reconstruction by Hakozaki. The small *shaku* on which this calculation is based is between 29.4 cm and 30.3 cm.

104. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1998–II, 61–63; *Kibi Report*, 48–49; plate 10.1, shows the slope clearly.

105. For the Niji haiji slope, see Yamashita, "Niji haiji no hakkutsu chōsa," 87–88, and fig. 3.

106. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1998–II, 63.

107. *Kibi Report*, 51.

108. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1998–II, 64, fig. 63; *Kibi Report*, 123, figs. 87.7–8 and fig. 52.7–8.

109. Kim Tong-hyōn, "Kōryūji ato no hakkutsu."

110. *Kibi Report*, 184–185. For a reconstruction of the pagoda and a comparative chart of comparable East Asian examples, see Nabunken, *Asuka Fujiwara no miya ten*, 55. The symbolic and ideological significance of the pagoda will be discussed in the conclusion to this chapter.

111. *Kibi Report*, 51, plan 6, fig. 11.2.

112. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1998–II, 63; *Kibi Report*, 51, 186–188; see Table 14 (168) for comparative dimensions of early roofed corridors.

113. *Kibi Report*, 169–172, for a discussion of relations with Hōryūji.

114. For this theory, see *Kibi Report*, 171–172, and 176, note 13, which refers to Itō Chūta's research.

115. Sakuraishi Bunkazai Kyōkai, eds., *Kibi ike haiji*, *Kibi Report*, 19.

116. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1999–II, 65–72. Strictly speaking, the absence of the middle gate in the expected location means that the temple is not in the Hōryūji plan, although it has the important pagoda-west/golden hall–east arrangement.

117. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1998–II, 67; *Kibi Report*, 53–57.

118. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1999–II, 68–70; *Kibi Report*, 57–61.

119. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1999–II, 70; *Kibi Report*, 61, and see plate 19.4.

120. See my "Fujiwarakyō," forthcoming. There I discuss in detail the evidence for the dimensions of the capital extending out beyond the three mountains, instead of being contained within them as previously believed

121. Pottery dating to the period of Fujiwarakyō was found in the east-west ditches.

122. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1999–II, 67; *Kibi Report*, 55–56.

123. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2000–II, 57–64; *Kibi Report*, 17.

124. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2000–II, 62–63; *Kibi Report*, 71–72.

125. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2000–II, 61; *Kibi Report*, 62–69.

126. *Kibi Report*, 164. This is the distance from the south side of the south gate (SD 442) to the north side of the structure to the north (SD 422).

127. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2000–II, 62; *Kibi Report*, 63–64, plan 10, figs. 29.1–2.

128. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2000–II, 62; *Kibi Report*, 61–62.

129. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2000–II, 64, gives approximately 158 m; *Kibi Report*, 164–166, 168, fig. 105.

130. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2000–II, 60; *Kibi Report*, 43–44. Note that pits designated as SX 251–252 in Nenpō are changed to SA 251–252 in *Kibi Report*, indicating that their status has changed from "miscellaneous" (SX) to "fence" (SA).

131. The Sakuraishi Kyōiku Iinkai published two reports on this excavation: *Kibi ike haiji iseki*; and "Kibi ike iseki dai 118ji hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō hōkoku"; also Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2001, 81 (with this year the *Nenpō* became an annual.); *Kibi Report*, 68.

132. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2001, 76–84; *Kibi Report*, 51–52, 185–188.

133. *Kibi Report*, 185–186.

134. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2001, 82–83; *Kibi Report*, 187, fig. 111. In some cases the dimensions given in *Nenpō* and *Kibi Report* are slightly different; in those cases I have adopted the measurements given in *Kibi Report*.

135. *Kibi Report*, 167.

136. For Sugizaki haiji, see Nabunken, *Nenpō* 2001, 76, based on Furukawa Kyōiku Iinkai, ed., *Sugizaki haiji ato: Hakkutsu chōsa hōkokusho*. This theory apparently was abandoned in *Kibi Report*.

137. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2001, 78; *Kibi Report*, 53–54.

138. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2001: 78; *Kibi Report*, 52; see also 228, fig. 119, for a plan showing the placement of Fujiwarakyō roads in relation to the Kibi Pond site.

139. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2001: 78; *Kibi Report*, 52–53, 220–230.

140. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 2001: 79; *Kibi Report*, 64.

141. *Nabunken, Nenpō* 2001, 83; *Kibi Report*, 15, 88, fig. 64, gives a map showing the numerical distribution of the tiles found at the site, indicating a large number from this area in the north.

142. Gunma Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Nazo no ōdera*, 15.

143. Hashimoto, "Kibi ike iseki dai 12ji hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō hōkoku."

144. Ibid., 16, fig. 18, shows the proposed reconstruction; *Kibi Report,* 175; and Kinoshita, *Asuka maboroshi no tera*, 168–169, express significant doubts about whether this excavation has actually provided adequate data to argue conclusively that it can be identified as the site of the south gate.

145. Hashimoto, "Kibi ike iseki dai 12ji hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō hōkoku," 16–17, makes this suggestion; for the earlier excavation, see Shimizu, "Kibi ike iseki dai 6ji hakkutsu chōsa." The trench in question is labeled #1 and runs east-west.

146. Sakuraishi Kyōiku Iinkai, eds., *Hakkutsu chōsa hōkokusho* 22, 19–23, plates 1–4; and Sakuraishi Kyōiku Iinkai, eds., *Hakkutsu chōsa hōkokusho* 23, 13–16, figs. 6–9; *Kibi Report*, 164.

147. *Kibi Report*, 174. For a detailed analysis of possible relations between temple and the Abe clan, see Naoki, "Kudara Ōdera no konryū to Abe shi."

148. *Kibi Report*, 166–169, with the plan on 168, fig. 105.

149. *Kibi Report*, 76–89, 193–219, provides a very detailed survey of the tiles. Fig. 64 (88) is a plan showing where at the site the tiles were discovered.

150. For the Yamadadera tiles, see Asuka Shiryōkan, *Yamadadera*, 32. See also Nabunken, ed., *Yamato Yamadadera ato*, vol. 1, 487–498; vol. 2, pls. 82–89. Mori Ikuo, "Korean Influence and Japanese Invention," 358.

151. The literature has referred incorrectly to this element as a cotyledon.

152. In both cases, there is a central seed, with a group circling it; conventionally, these are designated as 8:1 and 6:1. Later we will consider tiles that have two concentric rings of seeds.

153. *Kibi Report*, 232, lists four categories, but for our purposes Type III and Type IV are not relevant.

154. For the Shitennōji and Kaieji tiles, see *Kibi Report*, 197–198. An excellent illustration of a Shitennōji tile is in Tokyo Tō Bijutsukan, ed., *Shōtoku Taishi ten*, 55, fig. 37. Importantly, even though the tiles of this temple were made later than the initial phase at Yamadadera, they do not follow the 6:1 format of Yamadadera, but have the 8:1 format of Kibi Pond and Kinomoto haiji. Obviously, this indicates that they are in this lineage, not that of Yamadadera. Further information on the Shitennōji and Kaieiji tiles can be found in Osaka Furitsu Chikatsu Asuka Hakubutsukan*, Kawachi*, 72–73.

155. For a detailed discussion of the priority of the Kibi Pond/Kinomoto haiji round eave-end tile, see Ōwaki, "Kibidera wa nakkata," 170–173; and *Kibi Report*, 193. Kumagai, "Nihon Kudara Ōdera," 238–239, in dealing with the Yamadadera–Kibi Pond tiles, tries to demonstrate that Kudara Ōdera was constructed very rapidly; he argues that work would have had to have been completed before 648, the year when much of Yamadadera was finished. Ozawa, *Higashi Ajia chokuganji*, 261–262, argues persuasively against this proposition.

156. Although "Yamadadera style" is so deeply embedded in the scholarly literature that it is presumably impossible to change at this stage, we might suggest that "Kudara Ōdera style" is more appropriate if Kudara Ōdera was created first. This problem is similar to that encountered when the plan of the Kibi Pond temple is referred to as the Hōryūji style, even though Hōryūji had not yet been built at the time Kibi Pond was laid out.

157. While Type IA has only the palmette décor; Type IB has incised, concentric bands over the palmette forms. See *Kibi Report*, fig. 38 for illustrations of a number of examples. *Kibi Report*, 232, includes a Type III, but it is not relevant to the present discussion.

158. For relations to the Ikarugadera flat eave-end tile, see *Kibi Report*, 193–195. A very detailed analysis of the Ikarugadera tiles is found in Hōryūji Shōwa Shizaichō Henshū Iinkai, ed., *Hōryūji no shihō* 15, fig. 9, 133–135.

159. In this context it may be important to note that the Shitennōji tile described above has generally the same dimensions (19.6–19.9 cm diameter). In addition, the Kaieji tile, Osaka Prefecture, has a diameter of about 19.8 cm.

160. Here I am not making a distinction between the 8:1 and 6:1 organization of seeds in the central zone, although probably the number of seeds would be an important element in a deeper analysis.

161. Further analysis of the relationship between the Kibi Pond site and Ikarugadera is necessary; see *Kibi Report*, 193–195.

162. For the diffusion of the "Yamadadera style" roof tiles, see Okamoto, *Tōgoku no kodai jiin to kawara*, 80–112.

163. Ozawa, "Kibi ike haiji to Kudara Ōdera"; Ōwaki Kiyoshi, "Kudara Ōdera ronsō no yukue o megutte."

164. Ōmi, "Kibi ike haiji wa Kudara Ōdera ka, Kudara Ōdera to Takechi Ōdera no shozaichi o megutte."

165. In this early period, the distinction between an imperial temple and a clan temple is not as clear as nationalistic scholars imply.

166. See Naoki, "Kudara Ōdera no konryū to Abe shi," 1–11, for a discussion of the role of the Abe clan in the construction of Kudara Ōdera. Further details on the activities of the Abe during this period will be found in Sasakawa, "Kōgyoku chō no Abe shi: Itsushi no hen no rekishiteki zentei." Both authors assume the Abe were working against the interests of the Soga in their political activities. For a discussion of the temple, see Kinoshita, *Asuka maboroshi no tera*, 235–236.

167. *NS*, Tenmu 2 (673).12.17, A, 325; I, 414–415; *DE*, Tenmu 2 (673).12, *DE,* 542. For Takechi Ōdera, see Ozawa, "Kibi ike no hakkutsu," 45–47; *Kibi Report,* 152–153, 155–159; and Hoshino, "Takechi Ōdera." Ōhashi, "Chokuganji to kokka kanji no zōei soshiki." In preparing this and the following section, I have relied heavily on Kinoshita, *Asuka maboroshi no tera*; and Ōwaki, "Daikandaiji."

168. Ōwaki, "Daikandaiji," 167.

169. Tenmu 6 (677).9; *DE,* 542.

170. For an illustration of this *mokkan* and a discussion of the term *tennō*, see Kumagai, *Ōkimi kara tennō e*, 334–347, and frontispiece. A *mokkan* is a small wood slip on which various types of inscriptions were written.

171. The well-known Yachūji Miroku, with the term *tennō* inscribed, has cycli-

cal characters that can be interpreted as referring to 666. However, I have doubts about this inscription, which I discuss in my forthcoming monograph "Hakuhō Sculpture." Even if the date is reliable, it does not materially alter the argument made here.

172. For the relationship with Chang'an, see Ōwaki, "Daikandaiji," 167; Kinoshita, *Asuka maboroshi no tera,* 18–21, discusses theories concerning the name Daikandaiji.

173. *NS*, Tenmu 11 (682).8.29, A, 357; I, 454–455.

174. *DE,* 542; Tsukaguchi, "Kudara Ōdera," 233–234.

175. *NS*, Tenmu 15 (686).7, A, 379; I, 480–481. The text does not say specifically that the Kannon image was made for Daikandaiji, but certainly that is the most likely possibility.

176. *NS*, Tenmu 15 (686).5.14, A, 376; I, 476–477 (Aston incorrectly gives "30,000").

177. *DE,* 542; Tsukaguchi, "Kudara Ōdera," 235; *Fusō ryakki*, Jitō 6 (692).9. For early bells, see Sugiyama, *Bonshō*, 19–23; Myōshinji bell, fig. 2.

178. For Koyama haiji as Takechi Ōdera, see Inokuma, "Hakkutsu susumu Yamato no Asuka jidai jiin ato"; and Mori Ikuo, "Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan shozō Kidera ato (Koyama haiji) shutsudo nokigawara."

179. Asuka Shiryōkan, *Maboroshi no Ōdera,* 28–29. This temple is also called Okuyama Kumedera.

180. *Kibi Report*, 155–158. Asuka Shiryōkan, *Maboroshi no Ōdera,* 29–30, is somewhat skeptical about this theory, and Kinoshita, *Asuka maboroshi no tera,* 213–216, presents a very strong critique of Ozawa's theory.

181. For Ikazuchi Hill, see Asuka Shiryōkan, *Maboroshi no Ōdera,* 29–30.

182. Kinoshita, *Asuka Maboroshi no tera,* 132, 223–225.

183. *DE,* 542; Tsukaguchi, "Kudara Ōdera," 235. Kinoshita, *Asuka maboroshi no tera,* 37–40, 81–117, provides a detailed analysis of Monmu Daikandaiji.

184. *Shoku*, 701.6.1, Aoki, 1.40–41; Snellen, 192. In this and the following entries the compilers of *Shoku Nihongi* refer to the temple as Daianji, although clearly the Fujiwarakyō Daikandaiji is meant.

185. *Shoku* 701.7.27, Aoki, 1.42–43; Snellen, 194. This entry deals with an action by the Daijōkan (Great Council of State) to place various offices at specific ranks; the office to build the palace had *shiki* rank, that to build Daianji and Yakushiji *ryō* rank, and that to build pagodas and sixteen-foot icons the rank of *shi*. For further details on these ranks, see Aoki, 319–320.

186. *Shoku*, 702.8.4, Aoki, 1.59, also notes 14–15; Snellen, 202.

187. Ōwaki, "Daikandaiji," 169; Ōhashi, "Chokuganji," 56. The Daikandaiji tile is related to those of Yakushiji and the Fujiwara palace, dating to the 680s, although it more closely resembles the eighth-century Daianji tile. See Chapter 4 for this final phase in the early evolution of Asuka-Hakuhō tiles.

188. *Shoku*, Aoki, 1, 12–13; Snellen,176; Ōwaki, "Daikandaiji," 170.

189. *Fusō ryakki,* 69 Monmu 3 (699). For *Fusō ryakki*, see Kurosaka, ed., *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei*. It is unclear what site was used for the entry into the priesthood of the 500 people, although obviously Takechi Ōdera–Daikandaiji seems more likely.

190. There is a slight contradiction between these two entries, perhaps not that surprising given the character of *Fusō ryakki*; the most logical interpretation is that the 710 entry relates to the order to move to Heijō, prior to the actual transfer, while the 711 entry refers to a fire in the following year.

191. On the other hand, the great Yakushi triad of the Nara Yakushiji golden hall did survive fires in quite good condition.

192. Ōwaki, "Daikandaiji," 172–175. Chida, "Daikandaiji ato."

193. *Kibi Report*, 179; in some cases Ōwaki, "Daikandaiji," gives slightly different dimensions, but I have usually utilized those in *Kibi Report*.

194. See Ōwaki, "Daikandaiji," 177.

195. Sahara, in the 1998 report, suggested that the Daikandaiji pagoda was a seven-bay by seven-bay structure on a platform between 36–37 m sq (*Nenpō,* 1998. II, 65); however, this reconstruction seems unlikely as no traces of the outer 8 m x 8 m column foundation stones — necessary for this plan — have been located (*Kibi Report*, 191, note 17).

196. Ōwaki, "Daikandaiji," 179–180; *Kibi Report*, 183; Kinoshita, *Asuka maboroshi no tera,* 96–97.

197. It will be recalled that the facing was also not located on the golden hall and pagoda at the Kibi Pond site. Further research seems necessary concerning this problem.

198. Ōwaki, "Daikandaiji," 180.

199. Ibid., 181.

200. Ibid., 182.

201. *NS*, Kōtoku 1 (650).10 (this month), A, 240; I, 316–317. Some sense of what this icon may have looked like can be gained from the very large embroidery (208 cm x 158 cm), now in the Nara National Museum, which contains a large number of deities; see Clunas, *Art in China*, 108, fig. 51.

202. *NS*, Kōtoku 2 (651).3.14, A, 240; I, 316–317. *NS*, Kōtoku 2 (651).3.15, A, 240; I, 316–317.

203. *DE,* 542–543.

204. The texts do not record the location of the embroidered icons. Kumagai, "Nihon Kudara Ōdera," 240, argues that they were placed in the lecture hall, which would tend to support his contention that the entire temple was virtually completed by 650. Ōhashi, "Kudara Ōdera," 26–27, suggests that these icons were for the golden hall, since he believes the golden hall was completed around 650, prior to the lecture hall, which he dates to ca. 655.

205. *DE,* 542–543: *Fusō ryakki,* 60. These sources are conveniently cited, with analysis, in Asuka Shiryōkan, *Maboroshi no Ōdera,* 21.

206. Ōhashi, "Kudara Ōdera," 27 and 30–31, note 30, deals with this problem.

207. *DE,* 542.

208. Ōe Chikamichi, *Shichi daiji junrei shiki*, cited in Asuka Shiryōkan, *Maboroshi no Ōdera,* 21. For an older study, see Adachi, "Daianji kondō honzon ni tsuite"; originally published in *Kokka* 477 (1937).

209. There are also accounts of enormous pagodas in south China under the Liang dynasty and in the fifth-century Northern Wei capital, prior to the move to Lo-yang, including an earlier version of Yongningsi. See Alexander Soper in

Sickman and Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China*. For a recent, detailed consideration, see Qian, "Hokugi Rakuyō Yongningsi to kidan no hakkutsu to kenkyū." For a comprehensive report of the excavations, see Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Archaeology, ed., *The Yongningsi Temple in Northern Wei Luoyang, Excavations, 1979–1994*. For an insightful discussion of the empress dowager's patronage of the Yongningsi nine-story pagoda, see McNair, *Donors of Longmen,* 61–62.

210. See Jenner, *Memories of Loyang*, 147–151.

211. For a hypothetical reconstruction of the nine-story pagoda, see Steinhardt et al., *Chinese Architecture*, 84, fig. 3.21. Also Qian, "Hokugi Rakuyō Yongningsi," 10, figs, 2–3.

212. Zhu, "Gōjō isseki Jōbyōjō Tōgi-hokusei butsuji ato no chōsa to hakkutsu."

213. Pak Tae-nam, "Kankoku Sangoku jidai ni okeru bukkyō jiin mokutō seki no kōsatsu; Munhwajae Yŏn'guso Yujŏk Chosa Yŏn'gusil, ed., *Mirŭksa, yujŏk palgul chosa pogosŏ,* 2 vols. Volume 1, 84, fig. 1, provides a reconstruction of the central, wood pagoda. See also volume 2.

214. Best, "King Mu and the Making and Meanings of Mirŭksa," especially 43. See also, Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche*, 176–178, 180–182.

215. Best, "King Mu," 45–46. Best's translation of the *Samguk sagi* account is on 48–50.

216. Best, "King Mu," 42–43.

217. *Hwangnyongsa kuch'ŭng mokt'ap ch'alchu pongi* (The record inscribed on a column of the nine-story pagoda of Hwangnyongsa) is translated by Pankaji N. Mohan, "Wŏn'gwang and Chajang in the Formation of Early Silla Buddhism," 53. Mohan incorrectly refers to Abiji as the "chief mason," whereas his skill must have been in wood construction.

218. Best, *Kingdom of Paekche*, 189–190; also 373, note 11.

219. Munhwajae Yŏn'guso ed., *Hwangnyongsa*. Pak Tae-nam, "Shiragi Hwangnyongsa kujū tō no zōsei ni kansuru hikaku shiteki kentō." Best, *Kingdom of Paekche*, 190, note 92, suggests the possibility of a substantially smaller height of about 54 m, although he also entertains the figure of "almost seventy meters." In the context of the present analysis, I am more comfortable with the 70 m, especially given that the platform was 32 m sq.

220. Hoshino, "Kudara Ōdera no sōritsu," 53–67, presents the arguments against the historicity of the nine-story pagoda.

221. *Samguk sagi* states that King Chinp'yŏng (r. 579–632) of Silla sent 100 artisans to work on the construction of Mirŭksa, but this seems unlikely given the fact that the two kingdoms were at war about this time. Best, "King Mu," 50, for the *Samguk sagi* account, and 42 for Best's reservations. A different interpretation is given by Kumagai, "Nihon Kudara Ōdera," 247, since he believes that there is a relationship between the Abiji and Chinp'yŏng stories.

222. Here I would suggest once more that Jomei-Soga connections were close, rather than being hostile, as is usually suggested. Evidence for this, analyzed previously, is the fact that both the Kibi Pond site and Soga Kurayamada Ishikawa Maro's Yamadadera have essentially the same round eave-end roof tiles. Kumagai, "Nihon Kudara Ōdera," 251–252, presents a significantly different account.

223. While I would not like to make too much of this, it is interesting to note that Mirŭksa has three golden halls, as does Asukadera, although Asukadera lacks the two additional pagodas. Possibly this multiplication of halls is connected to royal patronage and, of course, I see the Soga as "royal" in important respects.

Chapter 3: Kawaradera

1. Ozawa, "Denshō Itabuki no miya ato no hakkutsu to Asuka no shogū."

2. Kadowaki, *Asuka to kamegata ishi*.

3. Kitayama, *Taika no kaishin*, 128–135.

4. Farris, *Heavenly Warriors*, 38–40.

5. For the defeat in Paekche and the development of Unified Silla, see Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 66–67; Kumagai, *Ōkimi kara tennō e*, 298–307 (fall of Paekche) and 309–311 (rise of Unified Silla); Best, *Paekche*, 198–200, 407, notes 101–102.

6. Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*, 156–157, presents a detailed analysis of the sickness, death, and accompanying events.

7. Ōtsushi Rekishi Hakubutsukan, eds., *Kodai no kyūto*; for greater detail, Hayashi, *Ōtsukyō ato no kenkyū*.

8. Nabunken, ed., *Kawaradera hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku*; hereafter Kawaradera, *Report*.

9. The other temples with Kawaradera-type plans will be discussed later in this chapter.

10. Mayuzumi, "Kawaradera no nazo," 58–67, especially 67.

11. For research on *Nihon shoki* that emphasizes temples, see Matsuki, "*Nihon shoki* hensan to *jiin engi*." For a more general account, see Yokota, *Nihon shoki seiritsu ron josetsu*.

12. The term *tekaki* was used for individuals who copied the sutras. See *NS*, Tenmu 2 (673), I, 411, note 44.

13. *NS*, Tenmu 2 (673).3, A, 322; I, 410–411. I am assuming that sutra-copying would probably not have commenced until key buildings had been constructed.

14. For the *Shinshō kyaku choku fushō: Jifūbu*, see Ōhashi, "Ōdera kō," 107.

15. See Kawaradera, *Report*, 3–4, 7. As that discussion is fully annotated, I will not give bibliographical details for the primary sources cited below.

16. Mayuzumi, "Kawaradera no nazo," 58–61; in the following I will cite this article by page number in the body of the text to avoid excessive notes. Ōwaki, "Kawaradera"; hereafter Ōwaki, "Kawaradera."

17. *NS,* Saimei 1 (655).10, A, 249; I, 328–329.

18. *NS*, Tenmu 8 (679).4.5, A, 341; I, 434–435. The entry reads, "On this day the emperor ordered that the names of all the temples be fixed."

19. Mayuzumi, "Kawaradera no nazo," 59–61, presents careful arguments discounting his items 1–4 and 6–8 before concentrating on 5, the most plausible.

20. The significance of these events will be considered in detail in Chapter 4.

21. For Yamada Ishikawa Maro and the subsequent work on Yamadadera, see Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 57–67.

22. *NS,* Jitō, prior to first year (686).12.19, A, 384; I, 487.

23. Possibly some combination of these factors explain why Kawaradera did not move.

24. Kawaradera, *Report*, 16–17; Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 118–119. As noted in Chapter 2, the Tang *shaku* was also found at Kudara Ōdera.

25. For the shape of the stones, see Kawaradera, *Report*, fig. 3 (17); Ōwaki. "Kawaradera," 118.

26. For the large granite block, see Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 119.

27. A *tsuka ishi* is a narrow, vertical stone strut placed between panels of the *hame ishi*.

28. Kawaradera, *Report*, 19–21; Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 120.

29. Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 120, citing *Shoji engi shū*.

30. Kawaradera, *Report*, 17–19; Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 121–122.

31. Kawaradera, *Report*, 21–22; Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 122–123.

32. Kawaradera, *Report*, 22–25; Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 122–123.

33. The section moving west seems to be related to some additional priests' quarters in that area.

34. Kawaradera, *Report*, 25–26; Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 123–124.

35. Kawaradera, *Report*, 26–27; Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 124.

36. Kawaradera, *Report*, 25.

37. Ibid., plan 15.

38. Ibid., plan 1; Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 124–125. Mori Ikuo, *Nihon kodai jiin zōei no kenkyū*, 225.

39. For the southeast hall, see Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 125.

40. Nabunken, "Kawaradera jiiki hokugen no chōsa," 118–122. A separate, very detailed report with the same title was published by Nabunken in 2004.

41. Nabunken, "Kawaradera no chōsa," 74–81.

42. Good illustrations will be found in Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Asuka-Hakuhō no kogawara*, #200–204, discussion, 283. See also Mori Ikuo, *Kawara to kodai jiin*, 116–128.

43. In this discussion, in the interests of accuracy, I will refer to the tiles that are most probably those of Kudara Ōdera as being from Kibi Pond rather than stating directly that they are Kudara Ōdera tiles. Kinomoto haiji tiles are included with the Kibi Pond tiles.

44. See Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Nihon Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, vol. 1, China (fig. 32), T'ai-tsung tomb; Koguryŏ (fig. 27), Pyŏngyang; Paekche (fig. 33), Puyŏ; Silla (fig. 34), Kyŏngju.

45. Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Bukkyō bijutsu*, fig. 31. For a Paekche comparison, see Paekche Munhwa Kaebal Yon'guwon, ed., *Paekche wajŏn torok*, fig. 434, although that tile has only a general resemblance.

46. Mori Ikuo, "Korean Influence and Japanese Invention," 358, says the sawtooth pattern is "uniquely Japanese."

47. I discuss these issues in my forthcoming monograph "Hakuhō Sculpture."

48. Okamoto, *Tōgoku no kodai jiin*, 114–146.

49. See Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kinai to tōgoku*, Minami Shiga haiji (pls. 148–151); Sūfukuji (fig. 153); Anō haiji (fig. 152).

50. Mori Ikuo, *Kawara*, 144–152, fig. 63 above (Kanzeonji); ibid: 153–159, fig. 65 (Shimotsuke Yakushiji).

51. Mori Ikuo, *Kawara*, 150.

52. For this category, see Mori Ikuo, "Rōji shiki kawara."

53. Fujisawa Norihiko, "Hakuhō ki chihō jiin ron."

54. For the excavations behind the temple, see Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 127–131. Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Asuka no senbutsu to sozō*, provides excellent photographic coverage of the excavated material. See also a popular book by the excavator, Aboshi Yoshinori, *Nazo no ōdera*. A detailed report of a symposium is Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Bukkyō Bijutsu Kenkyū Ueno Kinen Zaidan Josei Kenkyūkai hōkoku*.

55. For *senbutsu*, see Shirai, "Senbutsu."

56. For the arrangement of *senbutsu*, see Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, ed., *Hakuhō no imeeji*, figs. 5–6.

57. For the iconography of the *senbutsu*, see ibid.; and Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 130. Yoko Shirai has informed me that some scholars believe these identifications do not belong to the *senbutsu* itself, but to the image that stood in front.

58. For the dating of *senbutsu*, see Ōhashi, "Kawaradera no zōbutsu to Hakuhō chōkoku no jōgen ni tsuite." Because the stylistic sources of the *senbutsu* are related directly to the history of sculpture, I deal with this issue in my forthcoming monograph "Hakuhō Sculpture."

59. For the distribution of *senbutsu*, see Gunma Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Nazo no ōdera*, hereafter Gunma, *Nazo no ōdera, Kawaradera*.

60. For floor tiles, see Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 132–133; Gunma, *Nazo no ōdera, Kawaradera*, 39.

61. For the Tachibana Shrine, see *NRT* 2 (1968), 68–71, figs. 32–33, 137–151.

62. Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 132–133.

63. For clay figures, see Ōwaki, "Kawaradera," 133–136; Gunma, *Nazo no ōdera, Kawaradera*, 28–36; Aboshi, "Asuka Kawaradera ura yama iseki to shutsudo iseki."

64. Matsuki, "Yakushi shinkō no Nihon denrai ni tsuite," especially 24–26.

65. Matsuki, "Kawaradera no sōritsu,"

66. Ibid., 373.

67. Examples include the flanking Kannon figures of the Yakushi triad in the east golden hall of Kōfukuji, the Ishikawa Yakushiji Yakushi triad, and others. I have some doubts, however, if the two triads cited retain their original iconography.

68. Matsuki, "Kawaradera," 381.

69. Piggott, *Japanese Kingship*, 119.

70. Matsuki, "Kawaradera," 374–375.

71. Ibid., 376–378.

72. For Kanzeonji I have drawn on Mori Ikuo, *Kawara*, 144–152; Kurazumi, "Chihō no kodai jiin"; and Takakura, *Dazaifu to Kanzeonji*.

73. *Shoku*, Wadō 2 (709).2.2, Aoki, 146–147; Snellen, 230–231. The meaning of *kushichō* is discussed on 147, notes 16–17 of Aoki.

74. The full name is Asakura Tachibana no hironiwa no miya. The location of the palace is said to be Asakura gun, Asakura machi, Yamada, Fukuoka Prefecture, about 25 kilometers south-east of Dazaifu. See Inoue, *Asuka no chōtei*, 378.

75. For Dazaifu I have utilized Ishimatsu, *Dazaifu ato*. See also Takakura,

Dazaifu to Kanzeonji, 2–38; for the *Nihon shoki* reference, see *NS*, Tenji 10 (671).11.10, A, 297–298; I, 378–379.

76. For the 668 reference, see Ōhashi, "Ōdera kō," 107.

77. For the 701 reference, see Kurazumi, "Chihō no kodai jiin," 271.

78. Ibid., 274.

79. These events are recorded in *NS*, Saimei 7 (661).5.9–7.24; A, 271–272, I, 348–350. The narrative has a mythical quality, not fully believable, but the death of the empress and the subsequent defeat in Paekche probably combined to create a negative image of the Asakura palace, which may explain this narrative.

80. Takakura, *Dazaifu to Kanzeonji*, 112.

81. Ibid., 101–103.

82. *Shoku*, Tenpyō 7 (735) 8.12, Aoki 2, 292–293. For a detailed discussion of this and related epidemics, see Farris, *Population, Disease, and Land in Early Japan*, 50–73, especially 54–56.

83. Takakura, *Dazaifu to Kanzeonji*, 112–113.

84. Tamura, "Kanzeonji sōzō kō."

85. Kurazumi, "Chihō no kodai jiin," 275.

86. For a detailed discussion of this temple, see Mori Ikuo, "Shimotsuke Yakushiji."

87. In discussing Shimotsuke Yakushiji in this section, I will refer only to the temple name, omitting the geographical component.

88. Mori Ikuo, "Shimotsuke Yakushiji," 261.

89. *NS*, Jitō 3 (689).10.22, A, 395; I, 500–501, note 8, and 466, note 2.

90. For the Heijō temple, see Mori Ikuo, "Shimotsuke Yakushiji," 264–265.

91. Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kinai to Tōgoku*, 152–153, items 375–378.

92. Mori Ikuo, "Heijōkyō nai no kanji to ujidera."

93. For the documentary sources, see Mori Ikuo, "Shimotsuke Yakushiji," 260–261; and Okamoto, *Tōgoku no kodai jiin*, 219–222.

94. Kurazumi, "Chihō no kodai jiin," 278–279.

Chapter 4: Yakushiji

1. For the Jinshin Disturbance, see Tōyama, *Jinshin no ran*. For both the Jinshin Disturbance and the period of Tenmu and Jitō, see Piggott, *Japanese Kingship*, 127–166.

2. I simplify here: *Nihon shoki* states that in 672.9.12 "The Emperor proceeded to the Yamato capital and took up his residence in the Palace of Shima (*NS*, Tenmu 1 (672).9.12, A, 320; I, 406–407); on 9.5 "He moved his residence from the Palace of Shima to the Palace of Okamoto" (ibid.); and "in this year a Palace was erected south of the Palace of Okamoto, and the Emperor removed his residence thither that same winter. This was called the Palace of Kiyomihara in Asuka" (ibid.).

3. Piggott, *Japanese Kingship*, pp. 139–140.

4. I deal with this issue in a forthcoming article, "Fujiwarakyō."

5. The absence of references for the construction of Fujiwarakyō in *Nihon shoki* should alert us to its very incomplete and selective coverage of key matters.

6. The last official mission to China during the seventh century was in 669, toward the end of Tenji's reign.

7. For Princess Uno (= Jitō tennō), see Torao, "Jitō tennō."

8. NS, Tenmu 6 (677).8.15, A, 337, I, 428–429, records that the entire Buddhist canon was read at Asukadera at this time. Possibly this is the set copied at Kawaradera.

9. As also noted in Chapter 3, the recent discovery at Kawaradera of the foundations of a structure that could have been either a bell tower or a sutra hall would appear to offer some evidence for this project. Even if the foundations discovered turned out to be a bell tower, the position strongly implies that a sutra tower would have been located symmetrically to the east.

10. For the 673 entry, see *NS*, Tenmu 2 (673).12.27, A, 325; I, 414–415.

11. For *risshi*, see Naobayashi, *Nihon kodai bukkyō seido*, 291–326.

12. *NS,* Tenmu 8 (679).4.5, A, 341; I, 434–435.

13. *NS,* Tenmu 8 (679).10.13, A, 343–344; I, 438–439; Tenmu 8 (679).10.this month, A, 344; I, 438–439.

14. *NS,* Tenmu 9 (680).4, A, 346; I, 440–441.

15. Naobayashi, *Nihon kodai bukkyō seido*, 291–386.

16. *NS*, Tenmu 14 (685).3.27, A, 368; I, 468. In my forthcoming monograph, "Hakuhō Sculpture," I will present a full analysis of this entry.

17. *NS*, Jitō 5 (691).2.1, A, 402; I, 508–509. This entry is discussed in detail by Katata, "Shoki ritsuryō bukkyō kōryū no ichi sokumen."

18. For both Fujiwarakyō and Heijōkyō Yakushiji, a convenient source is Ōhashi, *Yakushiji*. See also *NRT* 6; Machida, *Yakushiji*; and Kuno and Fukuyama, *Yakushiji*.

19. A sense of the original Fujiwarakyō lecture hall can be gained from the reconstruction of the lecture hall that was recently completed at Yakushiji in Nara. See Yakushiji, "Yomigaeru Hakuhō garan: Yakushiji Kōdō" (a pamphlet produced by the temple).

20. For the problem, see Im, "Kondō Yakushi sanzon zō." In English, see Kuno and Inoue, "Study of the Yakushiji Triad in the Kondō, Yakushiji." (There are problems with the translation of this article.)

21. Hida Romi, "Tōtō."

22. *NS*, Tenmu 9 (680).11.12, A, 348; I, 444.

23. An entry in *Nihon shoki* of the year before the dedication states: "On this day the names of the temples were fixed." *NS*, Tenmu 8 (679).4.5, A, 341; I, 434–435. This may suggest that the name for Yakushiji relates to this edict.

24. *NS*, Jitō 2 (688).1.8, A, 387; I, 490–491. A *musha daie*, or more simply *mushae*, is a ceremony that any person was allowed to attend. It showed the great compassion of the person holding the ceremony. See De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, vol. 1, 190–191.

25. The *satsu* is an element of the shaft of the spire (*sōrin*) that extends from the main column of the pagoda. Ōhashi, *Yakushiji*, 12–13, 111–126. *NRT* 6, 26–30.

26. Note that different terms for consort are used in *NS* and *Satsumeiki*. The year 680 is the ninth of Tenmu's reign as recorded in *NS*, but the eighth year after he ascended the throne as stated in *Satsumeiki*.

27. A wealthy layman was said to have purchased land at Sravasti, where the Jetavana (that is, "Gion") monastery was established.

28. This theory is presented by Fukuyama Toshio in Kuno and Fukuyama, *Yakushiji*, 7–8, 17–19.

29. Ōhashi, *Yakushiji*, 13.

30. Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*, 158–170, presents a detailed analysis of his sickness, death, and accompanying events.

31. *NS*, Shuchō 1 (686).6.10, I, 478–479; A, 377. Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry,* 160–161.

32. This is an interesting group, as Asukadera and Oharida-Toyuradera were directly in a Soga sphere, while Sakatadera was the clan temple of the Kuratsukuribe, who were closely related to the Soga.

33. Ōhashi, *Yakushiji*, 13. For greater detail, see Ōhashi, "Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji zōzō kō."

34. Some reconstructions show a bell tower and sutra hall outside the roofed corridor, in front of the priests' quarters. See Miyamoto, "Asuka jidai kenchiku to bukkyō garan," 157, plan.

35. In preparing this chapter I have relied heavily on Hanatani, "Moto Yakushiji no hakkutsu chōsa."

36. Ōhashi, "Chokuganji to kokka kanji no zōei soshiki," especially 45.

37. Nabunken, ed., "Moto Yakushiji no sainan sumi no chōsa," 49–55. I am giving the street and avenue numbers as they were calculated in 1976; since then, as it was understood that Fujiwarakyō was much larger than previously thought, the numbering has changed, but the point remains the same.

38. *Shoku,* Aoki, 1.12–13*:* Snellen, 176.

39. *Shoku,* Aoki, (6.11), 40–41; (7.27), 42–43; Snellen, (6.11), 193; (7.27), 194.

40. For the Taihō Code, see Naoki, "The Nara State."

41. See Nabunken, *Yakushiji hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku*, 75, fig. 64.1; Ōhashi, *Yakushiji*, 46.

42. *Fusō ryakki*, Tenpyō 2 (730).3.29: 89. For *Fusō ryakki*, see Kurosaka, *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei*. This phrase appears to me to mean they began the east pagoda in 730, but Japanese scholars consistently translated it as "built." See Hanatani, "Moto Yakushiji," 58.

43. For later references, see Ōhashi, *Yakushiji*, 55–61.

44. Hanatani, "Moto Yakushiji," 62. A brief survey of recent excavation results for the various buildings can be found in *NRT* 6, *Yakushiji*, 1999, "Supplement," 2–3. For a comparative chart of early golden hall plans, see fig. 2.8.

45. For the layout of Fujiwara Yakushiji, see Nabunken, *Gaihō* 21 (1991), 35; for that of Heijō Yakushiji, see Nabunken, *Yakushiji hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku*, plan 16.

46. Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1992: 17. The plan on this page shows a reconstruction with a *mokoshi* indicated.

47. Details concerning these elements can be found in Nabunken, *Gaihō* 21 (1991), 35, diagram. A chart in Nabunken, *Nenpō* (1992), 17, gives the comparative dimensions for the Fujiwara and Heijō temples.

48. A detailed discussion of the excavation of the middle gate and the roofed corridor appear in Nabunken, *Gaihō* 24 (1994), 83–98, figs. 11–13; and a more ab-

breviated discussion in Nabunken, *Nenpō* (1993), 20–22; Ōwaki, "Hakuhō no garan," provides a good summary of the important issues.

49. See fig. 2.22 for a comparative chart of gate plans.

50. The *tanrō*, a simple roofed corridor, is common during the seventh century, and even the enormous Monmu Daikandaiji had this form; the *fukurō*, a complex roofed corridor, with its intermediate central column is seen in important Nara-period structures.

51. There is a detailed explanation of the road system in my "Fujiwarakyō."

52. Nabunken, *Gaihō* 26 (1996), 62–75; for a discussion of the wooden boards, see Nabunken, *Nenpō* (1996), 28–29 (Fujita).

53. For a comparative chart of pagoda plans, see fig. 2.12.

54. See Nabunken, *Gaihō* 25 (1995), 66–74, fig. 12.

55. See Nabunken, *Nenpō* 1997.II, 24–31, iv, fig. above; and Hanatani, "Moto Yakushiji," 68.

56. The fundamental research on these topics was done by Hanatani Hiroshi in a series of important articles: in addition to Hanatani, "Moto Yakushiji," there is his "Tera no kawara tsukuri to miya no kawara tsukuri" and his "Shutsudo kawara yori mita Moto Yakushiji dōtō no zōei to Heijō iken ni tsuite."

57. Although not directly relevant to the present study, very detailed information on Heijōkyō Yakushi can be found in Nabunken, *Yakushiji hakkutsu*; for the tiles, see 77–144 and figs. 65–102.

58. Hanatani, "Moto Yakushiji," 70–71. Interestingly, there are some occurrences of single new leaf tiles at Heijōkyō Yakushiji.

59. For the east pagoda, see Nabunken, *Gaihō* 25 (1995), 68–69, for the middle gate and roofed corridor, Nabunken, *Gaihō* 24 (1994), 93–95, fig. 13.

60. Hanatani, "Moto Yakushiji," 71.

61. In addition to the brief analysis in Hanatani, "Moto Yakushiji," 71–72; see also for greater detail his "Moto Yakushiji shutsudo no kawara." Nabunken, *Nenpō,* 1997.2, 33–37. Some errors appeared in the diagrams so it is important to consult the corrected versions inserted into the journal.

62. Since the initial plans and surveying of Yakushiji could not begin until 681 or even 682, we cannot be certain as to when Fujiwarakyō was laid out, although I suspect that it was by 680 if not a little earlier.

63. Hanatani, "Moto Yakushiji," 72, points out that Asuka IV phase pottery was found near the Daigokuden of the Fujiwara Palace in association with *mokkan* dating to the later Tenmu reign, which suggests that its occurrence at Yakushiji would have been at approximately the same time. For Asuka-Hakuhō pottery in general, see Nabunken, *Asuka Fujiwara miya to kyō*, 100–115.

64. Further investigation is needed into the significance of the fact that at both temples the east pagoda was constructed first.

65. Hanatani, "Moto Yakushiji," pp. 72–75.

66. See *NRT* 8 (1970), *Kōfukuji* II, 15–17, figs. 1–3, 65–67, discussion by Nishikawa Shinji. The buddha has been tentatively reconstructed as a Yakushi seated in Western style, flanked by two standing bodhisattvas, although this reconstruction does not provide reliable evidence as to the original format of the Yakushiji triad. For the reconstruction, see Asuka Shiryōkan, *Yamadadera*, 10–11, figs, 8–9.

Possibly the Western-style seated pose suggestion is based on that configuration in the Yamadaden Amida triad, no. 144, in the "Forty-eight Buddhist Deities" group now in the Tokyo National Museum.

67. For the flanking bodhisattavas, see *NRT* 8 (1970), *Kōfukuji* II, 19–24, figs. 4–5, 68–77; discussion by Nishikawa Shinji.

68. Nabunken, *Yamato Yamadadera ato*, 6–18; Shinokawa, "Itsushi no hen to Soga Kurayamada Ishikawa Maro." Kuramoto, "Jinshin no ran to Soga shi."

69. *Yakushiji engi,* Jitō 6 (692).4.12. For the *Yakushiji engi* text, see *NRT* 6 (1968), *Yakushiji*, 114, 120–123; see also Fukuyama in Fukuyama and Kuno, *Yakushiji*, 11.

70. For Dōshō's eye-opening ceremony, see Fukuyama in Fukuyama and Kuno, *Yakushiji*, 11–12. This information is contained in an entry in *Shichi daiji nenpyō*.

71. *NS*, Jitō 11 (697).6.26, A, 422; I, 532–533, and Jitō 11 (697).7.29, A, 422–423; I, 533. See Kasahara, "Jitō tennō jūichinen Yakushiji zōzō ni tsuite."

72. *NS*, Jitō 11 (697).8.1, A, 423; I, 534–535.

73. Ōhashi, *Yakushiji*, 13.

74. For the remains of the Heijō Yakushiji pagoda figures, see *NRT* 6 (1970), *Yakushiji*, 83–86, figs. 1–49, discussion by Tanabe Saburōsuke. The second edition (1999) has a supplement concerning the figurines Nabunken excavated from the west pagoda site in 1976; *Supplement*: 14, figs. 1–56. (Unfortunately, although the basic text and illustrations in the second edition are identical to the first, the short "supplements" contain a limited amount of new information and thus must be consulted.) An early study is Kobayashi, "Yakushiji hason butsuzō seiri hōkoku."

75. For the Hōryūji pagoda figurines, see Nishikawa Shinji, *Hōryūji gojū no tō no sozō*. *NRT* 3 (1969).

76. Actually, from a chronological point of view, the placement of Yakushiji is most important in understanding the construction process of capital and palace, but that is an issue that cannot be taken up here. I propose to deal with it in detail in my forthcoming study "Fujiwarakyō."

77. The argument is good deal more complicated than presented here and has to do with Fujiwarakyō's Yakushiji (west) and Monmu Daikandaiji (east) in relation to Heijōkyō's Yakushiji and Daianji in essentially the same positions. Why Monmu Daikandaiji and Daianji are to the south of their respective partners is a difficult question, but I think it has something to do with the earlier placement of Koyama haiji (also called Kidera) in the area directly to the east of Yakushiji.

Conclusion

1. Particularly strong differences of opinion can be seen in the writings of Ōhashi and Nakai, to be discussed below.

2. *NS*, Tenmu 8 (679).4.5, I, 434–435; A, 341.

3. For a discussion of the sustenance-fief (*jikifu*, also read *hehito*) system, see Inoue, *Asuka no Chōtei*, 407–408.

4. *NS*, I, 435, note 16, refers to a theory that suggests the order is related to the group of official temples referred to as Jōgakuji.

5. *NS*, Tenmu 9 (680).4, I, 440–441; A, 346.

6. Tamura, "Fujiwarakyō no yondaiji."

7. Ōhashi, "Chokuganji to kokka kanji no zōei soshiki," 45.

8. *NS*, Sushun 1 (587).7, I, 164–165; A, 115.

9. *NS*, Jomei 1 (639).7, I, 233–235; A, 169; and *NS*, Kōgyoku 1 (642).9.3, I, 242–243; A, 176.

10. *NS*, Kōgyoku 1 (642).7.27, I, 240–241; A, 175.

11. *NS*, Kōtoku, Taika 1 (645).8.8, I, 276–277; A, 202–203.

12. *NS*, Tenmu 2 (673).12.17, I, 414–415; A, 325.

13. Ōhashi, "Ōdera kō," 116–117.

14. Ibid, 118.

15. *Shoku,* Tenpyō 1 (729).8.5, Aoki 2, 219, note 10.50, p. 538. Nakai, *Nihon kodai Bukkyō seido*, 136, 144.

16. Piggott provides a detailed survey of the development of the *ritsuryō* system, *Japanese Kingship*, 167–235.

17. The phrases in question are: 造高市大寺司 and 大官大寺; in the case of the former, the last character, *tsukasa*, refers to the office or officials, while in the latter, the second character, *kan*, is the usual term for official; it, of course, can also be read *tsukasa*.

18. Nakai, *Nihon kodai bukkyō seido*, 135–169.

19. Ōhashi, "Chokuganji," 41–61.

20. Kitō, "Kodai kokka to bukkyō shisō," 95–127, discusses the interaction between the state and Buddhist ideology in the early period.

21. Hongō, "Kodai jiin no kinō," deals with the functioning of temples within the state from the mid-seventh through the ninth century.

22. Excellent photographs and detailed discussion can be found in Tazawa Yutaka et al., eds. *Hōryūji shiryō chōkoku hen* 2, 50–52, pl. 76; English summary, 25; Asuka Shiryōkan, ed., *Asuka/Hakuhō no zaimei kondō butsu*, first edition, plate, p. 43, pp. 84–85, 112–113; second edition, 109 plate, 161–162, 188–189.

23. Tanaka, "Ikaruga Ōdera kō,"

24. Nakai, *Nihon kodai bukkyō*, 166.

25. Useful for the study of ground plans are Mori Ikuo, "Garan haichi henka no yōin"; and Kim Chang-ki, "Kankoku kara mita Nihon kodai jiin ato." In English, consult Kakichi Suzuki, *Early Buddhist Architecture in Japan*, especially "Changes in Monastery Arrangement," 196–206.

26. There are, of course, temples in Japan that lack a pagoda, but as all of the temples under discussion in this book have one, the type of temple without a pagoda is irrelevant. For an excellent discussion of temple structures, see Yiengpruksawan, "The Legacy of Buddhist Art," 6–7.

27. For example, Tachibanadera and Toyuradera, both located in the Asuka region, are built on hills that determine their plans to a large extent.

28. This is reflected in the first edition of Paine and Soper, *The Art and Architecture of Japan* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1955), where Soper's discussion (172–178) is based on the state of knowledge prior to the excavation and publication of Asukadera and Kawaradera.

29. Japanese scholars refer to this ground plan as the Hōkiji plan, after the small temple near to Hōryūji.

30. For a discussion of Abedera, see Kinoshita, *Asuka maboroshi no tera*, 235–237.

31. The significant development in political institutions and the process of centralization in Yamato that follows the Jinshin Disturbance and the move of Tenmu and his court back to Asuka-Fujiwara can be understood in part as a response to Unified Silla's vastly enhanced power, now perhaps seen as a threat.

32. As discussed in Chapter 1, the discovery of a relic played an important role in the narrative concerning Soga no Umako's patronage of Buddhism, and, of course, the relics discovered at the pagoda site clearly indicate great interest in the relic cult.

33. The Kibi Pond site, like Ikarugadera, has the heart stone of the pagoda placed high on the platform, suggesting some conceptual relationship. On the other hand, the pagoda of the west precinct of Hōryūji has its heart stone buried deep below the platform. Significantly, there is an important relic deposit at Hōryūji that, juxtaposed with the icons of the golden hall, amply illustrates the phenomenon of icon-relic parity.

34. For this format at Daianji, see *Yamato koji taikan* 3, "Daianji," 53–64. Fig. 41 (57) shows the plan with two pagodas within roofed corridors. For Tōdaiji, see *NRT* 9, 13, fig. 3.

35. For these two images, see Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Tokubetsuten zuroku, Kondō butsu*, Yumechigai Kannon, no. 134; Jindaiji Shaka, no. 127.

36. Ōhashi, "Hakuhō chōkoku ron." I have commented on his theories in "Sanzenji Kannon bosatsu zō to Hakuhō dōgyō chōkoku no mondai." See also my forthcoming monograph, "Hakuhō Sculpture."

37. Asuka Shiryōkan, ed., *Busshari mainō*.

38. Stimulating discussions of ritual can be found in Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*; and idem., *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*; also see Humphrey and Laidlaw, *The Archetypal Actions of Ritual*.

39. Two Asuka Shiryōkan catalogues provide extensive coverage of this material; see *Asuka no kōbō* and *Asuka ike iseki*.

40. For a succinct survey of Heijōkyō in English, see Nabunken, ed, *Nara Imperial Palace Site Museum*. Interesting material can also be found in Tanabe, *Heijōkyō*.

41. Satō Makoto, "Heijōkyō no teradera," 241.

42. For an extensive treatment of the transfer of temples from Asuka to Fujiwarakyō, see Katada Tadashi, ed., *Shinpojium*.

43. See Hoshino, "Dōji den no seiritsu to Daianji"; Nakai Shinkō, "Kokka bukkyō no seiritsu to tenkai," 12–15.

44. For Yamashinadera, see Kameda, "Kōfukuji."

45. For a traditional account, see Kinoshita, "Yakushiji ronsō."

46. Tanabe, "Heijōkyō no jiin iseki"; and *Heijōkyō o horu*, 156–162.

47. Mori Ikuo, "Kodai jiin no iken to saiken mondaiten no shozai."

48. An important exception is the Naniwa capital, which continued to be utilized, probably because it was near the seaport that connected Yamato with the Korean peninsula and China.

49. Tōji has continued to be a very important temple, but Saiji was abandoned

quite early. It is interesting to note that neither of the two official Kyoto temples included *dai* (great) in their names.

50. For Tōdaiji, see *NRT* 9, *Tōdaiji*; for Saidaiji, *NRT* 14, *Saidaiji*; and Kaneko Hiroaki, *Saidaiji*.

51. The most popular list included seven temples: Tōdaiji, Kōfukuji, Gangōji, Daianji, Yakushiji, Saidaiji, and Hōryūji. Presumably the inclusion of Hōryūji reflects its inceased status as a result of the growth of the cult of Prince Shōtoku. For the formation of the list, see Satō Makoto, "Heijōkyō no teradera," 232–238.

Glossary

Abedera 阿部寺
Abe no Kurahashi Maro 阿部倉橋麻呂
Abiji 阿非知
Akunami Ashigaki no miya 飽波葦墻宮
amaochi mizo 雨落溝
Amida 阿弥陀
Angoin 安居院
Ankan tennō 安閑天皇
Anō haiji 穴太廃寺
Asakura no miya 朝倉宮
Asatsuma no obito Misano 阿沙都麻首未沙乃
Asuka daibutsu 飛鳥大仏
Asukadera 飛鳥寺
Asuka Hozon Zaidan 飛鳥保存財団
Asuka Itabuki miya 飛鳥板葺宮
Asuka Kiyomihara miya 飛鳥浄御原宮
Asuka no Kinunui no miyatsuko 飛鳥衣縫造
Asuka Okamoto miya 飛鳥岡本宮
Asuka Shiryōkan 飛鳥資料館
Atsutasha 熱田社
Aya no Hoshi 阿野保斯
Azumi no muraji 安曇連

Bengō 弁豪
Bengyō 弁暁
Bensō 弁聡
bettō 別当
Bidatsu tennō 敏達天皇
Buretsu tennō 武烈天皇
bussha 仏舎

Chajang 慈蔵
Chang'an 長安
chingo kokka 鎮護国家
Chi no iratsume 乳娘
chō 町
chōga 朝賀
Ch'ŏngam-li p'yesa 清岩里廃寺
Chŏngnŭngsa 定陵寺
chū kondō 中金堂
chūmon 中門

Daianji 大安寺
Daianji engi 大安寺縁起
Daibutsuden 大仏殿
Daidaiō 大大王
Dai hannyakyō 大般若経
daijōsai 大嘗祭
Daikandaiji 大官大寺
daishō 大匠
danjō zumi kidan 壇正積基壇 (壇上積基壇)
Dazaifu 太宰府
Dōji 道慈
Dōshō 道昭
Dunhuang 敦煌

Eben 恵便
Eji 恵慈
Ekan 恵灌
Emishi 蝦
Emyō 恵妙
Enchi 遠智

enzuka ishi 縁束石
Eon 恵隠
Esei hōshi 恵勢法師
Eun 恵雲
Ezen 恵善

Fei Shiqing 裴世清
Fujiwarakyō 藤原京
Fujiwara no Fuhito 藤原不比等
Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足
Fuju shinpō 富寿神宝
fukurō 複廊
fumibito 書人
fumi ishi 踏石
Fumi no atai Agata 書値県
Fune no fuhito Esaka 船史恵尺
Fu ōdera 府大寺
Furuhito no ōji 古人皇子
Fusō ryakki 扶桑略記

Gakuanji 額安寺
Gangōji 元興寺
Gangōji engi 元興寺縁起
Ganjin 鑑真
Gao Biaoren 高表仁
Genbō 玄昉
genchi setsumeikai 現地説明会
Genkō shakusho 元亨釈書
Genmei tennō 元明天皇
Gisei 義成
Gufukuji 弘福寺
gyōkaigan 凝灰岩
Gyōki 行基
Gyokuyō 玉葉

hakase 博士
Hakuhō 白鳳
hame ishi 羽目石
hanagumi 花組
hanchiku 版築
Hata no Mukobe 波田牟胡閇
Heian 平安
Heiankyō 平安京
Heijōkyō 平城京
hiragawara 平瓦
Hiraizumi 平泉
Hirano gayō 平野瓦窯
Hiro hime 広姫
Hirosegun 広瀬郡
hisashi 庇
hiten 飛天
Hitomaro 人麻呂
Hōkiji 法起寺
Hōkōji 法興寺
Hōmei 法明
hondō 本堂
Hongfusi 弘福寺 (宏福寺)
honzon 本尊
Hōō teisetsu uragaki 法王帝説裏書
horikomi jigyō 掘込地業
Hōryūji 法隆寺
Hōryūji engi 法隆寺縁起
hōshi 法師
hoshigumi 星組
Hōtei no iratsume 法提郎媛
hōtō 法頭
hottate bashira ana 掘立柱穴
Hozumi no Momotari 穂積百足
Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺

Ikan Yongch'un 伊干龍春
Ikarugadera 斑鳩寺
Ikaruga Ōdera 鵤大寺
Ikazuchi no oka 雷丘
iken 移建
inubashiri 犬走
Inukami no kimi Mitasuki
犬上君三田耜
Ise no ōji 伊勢皇子
Ishikawa taku 石川宅
Ishime 石女
Issaikyō 一切経
itabuki 板葺
Iware 磐余
Iyo 伊予

jifuku ishi 地覆石
jikifū 食封
Jinshin no ran 壬申の乱
jisshi 十師
Jitō tennō 持統天皇
jōbō 条坊

Jōdoji 浄土寺
Jōgū 上宮
jōroku 丈六
Jōroku kōmei 丈六光銘
jōsei kidan 上成基壇
Jōwa shōhō 承和昌宝

Kafuka no omi 鹿深臣
Kaguyama 香久山
kaidan 戒壇
Kaieji 海会寺
kaigen 開眼
kairō 回廊
kakōgan 花崗岩
Kamŭnsa 感恩寺
kanji 官寺
Kanroku (Kwallŭk) 観勒
Kanzeonji 観世音寺
Kanzeonkyō 観世音経
Karako 韓子
karakusa 唐草
Karu no ōji (Emperor Kōtoku) 軽皇子
Karu no ōji (Emperor Monmu) 珂瑠皇子
kasei kidan 下成基壇
Kashihara 橿原
Kashiharajingū 橿原神宮
Kasuga taisha 春日大社
Kataokaōji 片丘王寺
Kawaradera 川原寺
Kawara no miya 川原宮
kazura ishi 葛石
Keitai tennō 継体天皇
keman 華鬘
ken 建
Kenzō tennō 顕宗天皇
Kibidera 吉備寺
Kibi ike 吉備池
Kibi ike haiji 吉備池廃寺
kidan keshō 基壇化粧
Kidera 紀寺
Kinmei tennō 欽明天皇
kinoe/uma 甲午
Kinomoto haiji 木之本廃寺
Ki no omi Katamaro 紀臣訶多麻呂
Ki no ue no miya 木上宮 (城上宮)
Kinugawa haiji 衣川廃寺
kiri ishi 切石
Kiyomihara ritsuryō 浄御律令
koaza 小字
Kobejinja 子部神社
Kobesha 子部社
Kōbō Daishi goikō 弘法大師御遺告
kōdō 講堂
Kōfukuji 興福寺
kofun 古墳
Koguryŏ 高句麗
Kōgyoku tennō 皇極天皇
Kōken tennō 孝謙天皇
Kokubunji 国分寺
Kokubunniji 国分尼寺
Kokki 国記
Koma 高麗
Komajaku 高麗尺
Kōmyō kōgō 光明皇后
kondō 金堂
Kōnin tennō 光仁天皇
Konkōmyōkyō 金光明経
Konoha 樹葉
Kōryōchō 広陵町
Kōryūji 広隆寺
Koshi 越
Kosobe no Yamamaro 許曾部陽麻呂
Kōtoku tennō 孝徳天皇
Koyama haiji 小山廃寺
Kubosakadera 窪坂寺
Kudara 百済
Kudaradera 百済寺
Kudara no hara 百済原
Kudara no ie 百済家
Kudara Ōdera 百済大寺
Kudara Ōmiya 百済大宮
Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実
Kumagori Dōjō 熊凝道場
Kumedera 久米寺
Kume no omi 来目臣
Kuratsukuri 鞍作
Kuratsukuri no obito Karami 鞍作首加羅爾

Kuratsukuri no Tokushaku
鞍作徳積
kusabuki 草葺
Kusakabe no ōji 草壁皇子
Kusanagi ken 草薙剣
kushichō 駈使丁
Kusushi E'nichi 薬師恵日
kyōzō 経蔵

Luoyang 洛陽
Luoyang qielanji 洛陽伽藍記

Machi 満智
Makami no hara 真神原
Mansei 満誓
Man'yōshū 万葉集
marugawara 丸瓦
Mei no iratsume 姪娘
menō 瑪瑙
Mimana 任那奈
mimi ishi 耳石
Miminashiyama 耳無山
Minami Shiga haiji 南滋賀廃寺
Mino no ōkimi 美濃王 (御野王)
Miroku 弥勒
Mirŭksa 弥勒寺
Miwa no Shikobu no kimi
三輪色夫君
Mizu kagami 水鏡
mogari no miya 殯宮
mokkan 木簡
mokoshi 裳階
Moku Machi 木満智
Monmu tennō 文武天皇
Monomi no oka 物見岡
Mononobe no Moriya 物部守屋
moromoro no hito 諸手
Moto Gangōji busshari shutsugen chūshinjō
本元興寺仏舎利出現注進状
Moto Gangōji tōge horidasu goshari engi
本元興寺塔下掘出御舎利縁起
moya 母屋
musha daie 無遮大会
Mu wang 武王
Myōshinji 妙心寺

Nagaokakyō 長岡京
Naka no ōe ōji 中大兄皇子
Nakatomi no Kamatari 中臣鎌足
Nakatomi no Katsumi 中臣勝海
nandaimon 南大門
Naniwa 難波
Naniwa no miya 難波宮
nanmon 南門
Nanto shichidaiji junrei ki
南都七大寺巡礼記
Nara 奈良
Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo
奈良国立文化財研究所
Nihon sandai jitsuroku
日本三代実録
Nihon shoki 日本書紀
Niji haiji 尼寺廃寺
nijū kidan 二重基壇
Ninken tennō 仁賢天皇
Nishigori no Tsubo 錦織壺
noki hiragawara 軒平瓦
noki marugawara 軒丸瓦
Nukatabe no muraji Ohi
額田部連甥
Nukatabe no ōjo 額田部皇女
Nukatabe shi 額田部氏
Nukatadera 額田寺
Nukate hime ōjo 糠手姫皇女

Ōama no ōji 大海人皇子
Ochi no iratsume 遠智娘
Ōe no Chikamichi 大江親通
ogami 設斎
Oharida no miya 小墾田宮
(小治田宮)
ōkimi 大君
Okinaga shi 息長氏
Okuyama haiji 奥山廃寺
Ōmi 近江
Ōmi ritsuryō 近江律令
oni 鬼
Onjōji 園城寺
Ōno no oka 大野丘
Onumi no obito Tatsusei
意奴弥首辰星
ōomi 大臣
Ōomi yabu 大臣薮

Oshisaka Hikohito 押坂彦人
Otokashi atai 意等加斯費直
Ōtomo no Fukei 大伴吹負
Ōtomo no ōji 大伴皇子
ōtoneri 大舎人
Ōtsu 大津
Ōwachi no obito Toki 山西首都鬼

Paekche 百済
Pongsan-kun T'osŏng-li p'yesa
鳳山l群土城里廃寺
Puyŏ 扶餘

Qinglongsi 青龍寺

rakkei kuyō 落慶供養
risshi 律師
ritsuryō 律令
Rōji 老司
Ruijū sandai kyaku 類聚三代格
ryō 両
Ryōben 令弁

Sabi 泗沘
Sach'ŏnwangsa 四天王寺
Saeki no muraji 佐伯連
Saidaiji 西大寺
saiin 西院
Saiji 西寺
Saimei tennō 斉明天皇
saimon 西門
Sakabune ishi 酒船石
sakan 佐官
Sakatadera 坂田寺
Sakurai 桜井
Samguk sagi 三国史記
Samguk yusa 三国遺事
sandō 参道
Sang'o-li p'yesa 上五里廃寺
Sanjō ōji 三条大路
Sanron 三論
satsu 檫
Seian 清安
Seinei tennō 清寧天皇
senbutsu 塼仏
Senka tennō 宣化天皇
Shaka 釈迦
shaku 尺
Shami Zenki 沙弥善貴
Shamon Koma Daihōshi
沙門狛大法師
Shiba no Tasuna 司馬多須奈
Shiba no Tatto 司馬達等
shibi 鴟尾
Shimame 嶋女
Shima no shō 嶋庄
Shimotsukenu 下毛野
Shimotsukenu no Komaro
下毛野古麻呂
Shimotsuke Yakushiji 下野薬師寺
Shinshō kyakucho fushō: Jifūbu
新抄格勅符抄寺封部
shinso 心礎
Shitennōji 四天王寺
shogan butsuzō 所願仏像
Shoji engi shū 諸寺縁起集
Shoji konryū shidai 諸寺建立次第
Shō Kannon 聖観音
Shoku Nihongi 続日本紀
Shōmu tennō 聖武天皇
shōrō 鐘楼
Shōsōin monjo 正倉院文書
Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子
Shōtoku Taishi den kokon mokuroku shō
聖徳太子伝古今目録抄
Shōtoku tennō 称徳天皇
Shūzō 宗蔵
Silla 新羅
sōbō 僧房
Sogagawa 曽我川
Soga no Emishi 蘇我蝦夷
Soga no Iname 蘇我稲目
Soga no Iruka 蘇我入鹿
Soga no Ishikawa sukune
蘇我石川宿禰
Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子
Soga no Yamada Ishikawa Maro
蘇我山田石川麻呂
sōgon 荘厳
sōjō 僧正
Sōmin 僧旻
Sŏndŏk 善徳
sōni ryō 僧尼令

sōzu 僧都
Sūfukuji 崇福寺
Sugizaki haiji 杉崎廃寺
Sui 隋
Suiko tennō 推古天皇
Suruga kuni shōzei chō
駿河国正税調
Sushun tennō 崇峻天皇

Tachibanadera 橘寺
Taehŭng wang 大興王
Taihō ritsuryō 大宝律令
Taika no kaishin 大化改新
Taizong 太宗
Takahashi Kasama 高橋笠間
Takara no ōjo 宝皇女
Takechi 高市
Takechi no ōji 高市皇子
Takechi Ōdera 高市大寺
Takeda no ōji 竹田皇子
Takeuchi no sukune 健内宿禰
tama ishi 玉石
Tamura no ōji 田村皇子
Tanaka no miya 田中宮
Tang 唐
tanrō 単廊
tatematsuru 奉
tekaki 書生
tenbu 天部
Tenji tennō 天智天皇
Tenmu tennō 天武天皇
Tennōki 天皇記
Teragawa 寺川
tera no nushi 寺主
tera no tsukasa 寺司
tō 塔
Tōchigun 十市郡
Tōdaiji 東大寺
Tōdaiji yōroku 東大寺要録
Tōji 東寺
Tōkaidō 東海道
Tokusō 徳聡
Tomata 苫田
Tomo no miyatsuko 伴造
Tō roban mei 塔路盤銘
tōrōdai ishi 灯露台石
tōzai kondō 東西金堂
Tōsandō 東山道
Tōtō satsumeiki 東塔擦銘記
Toyome 豊女
Toyomike Kashikiya hime
等与弥気賀斯岐夜比売
Toyotomimi miko 豊聡耳皇子
Toyuradera 豊浦寺
Toyura no miya 豊浦宮
tsuchinoto/i 己亥
tsuka ishi 束石
tsukasa 司
tsukijibei 築地塀
tsukuri oete (*hikkyō*) 畢竟
Tsukushi 筑紫

Ue no imiki Kobito 於伊美吉子首
uhenkō karakusa mon 右遍行唐草紋
Ŭija wang 義慈王
Ukyō keichō 右京計帳
Umayado no ōji 厩戸皇子
Umayazaka no miya 厩坂宮
Unebiyama 畝傍山
uneme 采女
Uneotsutamoto jinja
畝尾都多本神社
uyami tsukuri (*keizō*) 敬造

Wada haiji 和田廃寺
Wakakusa garan 若草伽藍

Ximingsi 西明寺
Xingfusi 興福寺
Xuanzang 玄奘

Yagi 八木
Yaku 掖玖
Yakushi 薬師
Yakushiji 薬師寺
Yakushiji engi 薬師寺縁起
Yamadadera 山田寺
Yamadaderashiki 山田寺式
Yamada Ishikawa Maro
山田石川麻呂
Yamashinadera 山階寺
Yamashiro no ōji 山城兄子

Yamato no aya no ō atai Makōkuki
山東漢大費直麻高垢鬼
Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之
Yōmei tennō 用明天皇
Yondaiji 四大寺
Yonegawa 米川
Yongningsi 永寧寺
Yōrō ritsuryō 養老律令
Yoshino sangaku 吉野山岳
Yūryaku tennō 雄略天皇

Zenshin 善信
Zenzō 善蔵
zō Yakushiji tsukasa 造薬師寺司
zushi 厨子

Bibliography

Abbreviations

DE = *Daianji garan engi narabi ruki shizaichō*
GE = *Gangōji engi*
Nabunken = Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo (Nara National Cultural Properties Research Institute), now called Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo
NRT = Nara Rokudaiji Taikan Kankō, ed., *Nara rokudaiji taikan*
NS = *Nihon shoki*; I = Iwanami Shoten edition; A = Aston translation
Shoku = *Shoku Nihongi*; Aoki = Iwanami Shoten edition; Snellen = Snellen translation

Aboshi Yoshinori. "Asuka Kawaradera urayama iseki to shutsudo iseki." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 99 (1974): 3–15.
———. *Nazo no ōdera: Asuka Kawaradera*. Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1982.
Adachi Kō. "Daianji kondō honzon ni tsuite." In *Nihon chōkoku shi no kenkyū*, 89–100. Tokyo: Ryōgisha, 1944.
Aoki Kazuo et al., eds. *Shoku Nihongi*. Vols. 12–16 of *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965.
Asahi Shinbunsha, ed. *Kokuhō to rekishi no tabi: Asuka no hotoke, Tenpyō no hotoke*. Tokyo, 1999.
Asano Kiyoshi. "Asukadera no kenchiku." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 33 (1958): 1–19.
Aston, W. G. *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from Earliest Times to 697*. 2 vols. Rutland, VT: Charles Tuttle, 1972.
Asuka Hozon Dantai, ed. *Asuka ni manabu*. Asuka mura: Zaidan Hōjin, Asuka Hozon Dantai, 2001.
Asuka Shiryōkan, ed. *Asuka ike iseki*. Nara: 2000.
———, ed. *Asuka no kōbō*. Nara: 1993.
———, ed. *Asukadera*. Nara: 1986.
———, ed. *Asuka/Hakuhō no zaimei kondō butsu*. Nara: 1979.
———, ed. *Busshari mainō*. Nara: 1989.
———, ed. *Maboroshi no ōdera: Kudara ōdera*. Nara: 1999.
———, ed. *Soga sandai*. Nara: 1995.
———, ed. *Yamadadera*. Nara: 1996.
Asukadera*, Report*. See Nabunken, ed. *Asukadera hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku*. Nara: 1958.

Bell, Catherine. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
———. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
Berthier, Francois. "Asukadera mondai no saiginmi: Sono honzon o chūshin to shite." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 96 (1974): 55–73.
Best, Jonathan W. *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.
———. "King Mu and the Making and Meanings of Miruksa." In *Religions of Korea in Practice*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, 35–50. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
Brinker, Helmut. "Sublime Adornment: Kirikane in Chinese Buddhist Sculpture." *Orientations* 34, no. 10 (2003): 30.
Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
Chida Takemitsu. "Daikandaiji ato." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 116 (1977): 26–40.
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Archaeology: ed. *The Yongningsi Temple in Northern Wei Luoyang, Excavations, 1979–1994*. Beijing: The Encyclopedia of China Publishing House, 1996. [In Chinese]
Clunas, Craig. *Art in China*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997.
Daianji garan engi narabi ruki shizaichō. In *Daianji shi shiryō*, 541–568. Nara: Daianji Shi Henshū Iinkai, 1984.
De Visser, M. W. *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*. 2 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935.
Ebersole, Gary L. *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
Farris, William Wayne. *Heavenly Warriors: The Evolution of Japan's Military, 500–1300*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.
———. *Population, Disease, and Land in Early Japan, 645–900*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.
Fawcett, Clare. "Archaeology and Japanese Identity." In *Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Post Modern*, eds. Donald Dennon et al., 60–77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
———. "Nationalism and Postwar Japanese Archaeology." In *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*, eds. Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett, 232–246. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
Fowler, Sherry D. *Murōji: Rearranging Art and History at a Japanese Buddhist Temple*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005.
Fujisawa Kazuo. "Iwayuru Tori busshi to Gangōji zōbutsu ni tsuite." *Ko bunka* 1, no. 1 (1952): 16–26.
Fujisawa Norihiko. "Hakuhō ki chihō jiin ron." In *Ronshū Nihon Bukkyō shi* 1, *Asuka jidai*, ed. Kawagishi Hironori, 339–369. Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1993.
Fukuyama Toshio. "Asukadera no sōritsu no kenkyū." *Shigaku zasshi* 45, no. 10 (1934), 1237–1262.
———. *Nihon kenchikushi kenkyū*. Tokyo: Bokusui Shobō, 1968.
———. "Nukatadera (Gakuanji)." In *Nara chō jiin no kenkyū*, 15–30. Tokyo. Kōtō Shoin, 1948.

Furukawa Kyōiku Iinkai, ed. *Sugizaki haiji ato: Hakkutsu chōsa hōkokusho*. Furukawa, 1998.
Fusō ryakki. In Kurosaka Katsumi, ed. *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei*. Tokyo: Kokushi Taikei Kankōkai, 1932.
Gangōji engi. See Sakurai Tokutarō et al.
Goodrich, L. Carrington, ed. *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories: Later Han through Ming Dynasties*. Trans. Ryūsaku Tsunoda. South Pasadena, CA: P.D. & Ione Perkins, 1951.
Gunma Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed. *Nazo no ōdera: Asuka Kawaradera — Hakuhō no hotoke*. Gunma, 1997.
Hamada Masaji. *Jisha kenchiku no kanshō kisoteki chishiki*. Tokyo: Shibundō, 1992.
Hanatani Hiroshi. "Moto Yakushiji no hakkutsu chōsa." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 235 (1997): 57–80.
———. "Shutsudo kawara yori mita Moto Yakushiji dōtō no zōei to Heijō iken ni tsuite." In *Tenbō kōkogaku*, eds. Kōkogaku Kenkyūkai 40 Shūnen Kinnenshū, 190–201. Nara: 1995.
———. "Tera no kawara tsukuri to miya no kawara tsukuri." *Kōkogaku kenkyū* 158 (1993): 72–93.
Hashimoto Teruhiko. "Kibi ike iseki dai 12ji hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō hōkoku." In *Heisei 13 nendo kokko hojo ni yoru hakkutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, eds. Sakurai Kyōiku Iinkai, Sakurai Shiritsu Maizō Bunka Sentaa, 13–16. Sakurai: 2002.
Hayashi Hiromichi. *Ōtsukyō ato no kenkyū*. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2001.
Hida Romi. "Tōtō." In *Yakushiji, sensanbyakunen no seika: Bijutsushi kenkyū no ayumi*, eds. Ōhashi Katsuaki and Matsubara Satomi, 43–74. Tokyo: Ribun Shuppan, 2000.
Higashi Ajia no chokuganji. See *Higashi Ajia 6–7 seiki ni okeru chokuganji: Kōsō moku tō no kōkogakuteki hikaku kenkyū*. Tōhoku Gakuin Daigaku ronshū, *Rekishi to bunka* 40 (2006).
Hino Akira. "Bidatsu ki no Miroku sekibutsu to sono shūhen." In *Higashi Ajia to Nihon* 2, *Shūkyō — Bungaku hen*, ed. Tamura Enchō Sensei Koki Kinenkai, 19–43. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987.
———. "Kuratsukuri be Tasuna no shukke ni tsuite." *Ryūkoku shidan* 66/67 (1973): 62–73.
———. "Zenshin ni no denshō." In his *Nihon kodai uji denshō no kenkyū*, 215–219. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1982.
Hongō Masatsugu. "Bukkyō denrai." In *Kodai o kangaeru*: *Keitai-Kinmei chō to Bukkyō denrai*, ed. Yoshimura Takehiko, 240–265. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999.
———. "Kodai jiin no kinō." In *Nihon kokka no shiteki tokushitsu: Kodai-chūsei*, eds. Ōyama Kyōhei Kyōju Taikan Kinenkai, 311–334. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1997.
Hōryūji Shōwa Shizaichō Henshū Iinkai, ed. *Hōryūji no shihō* 15. *Kawara*. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1992.
Hoshino Yoshifumi. "Daianji no Kumagori sōsō densetsu ni tsuite." *Hōsei shigaku* 39 (1987): 44–61.

———. "Dōji den no seiritsu to Daianji." In *Nihon kodai no saishi to Bukkyō*, ed. Saeki Arikiyo Sensei Koki Kinenkai, 205–239. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995.
———. "Kudara Ōdera no sōritsu ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu." *Hōsei Daigaku Daigakuin kiyō* 16 (1986): 53–63.
———. "Takechi Ōdera-Daikandaiji no zōei katei." *Hōsei kōkogaku* 10 (1985): 173–193.
Humphrey, Caroline, and James Laidlaw. *The Archetypal Actions of Ritual: A Theory of Ritual Illustrated by the Jain Rite of Worship*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
Im Namsu. "Kondō Yakushi sanzon zō." In *Yakushiji, sensanbyakunen no seika: Bijutsushi kenkyū no ayumi*, eds. Ōhashi Katsuaki and Matsubara Satomi, 89–110. Tokyo: Ribun Shuppan, 2000.
Inagaki Shinya. *Kodai no kawara*. Vol. 66 of *Nihon no bijutsu*. Tokyo: Shibundō, 1971.
Inokuma Kanekatsu. "Hakkutsu susumu Yamato no Asuka jidai jiin ato." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 235 (1997): 15–21.
Inoue Mitsusada. *Asuka no chōtei*. Vol. 3 of *Nihon no rekishi*. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1974.
———. *Nihon kodai kokka no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965.
———. "Suiko chō no Bukkyō tōsei." In his *Nihon kodai kokka no kenkyū*, 332–339. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965.
Ishida Mosaku. *Asuka zuisō*. Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1972.
Ishimatsu Yoshio. *Dazaifu ato*. Vol. 216 of *Nihon no bijutsu*. Tokyo: Shibundō, 1984.
Jenner, W. J. F. *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsuan-chih and the Lost Capital (493–534)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.
Kadowaki Teiji. *Asuka: Sono kodaishi to fūdo*. Tokyo: NHK, 1977.
———. *Asuka to kamegata ishi*. Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 2000.
———. *Soga Emishi-Iruka*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1977.
———. "Soga shi no shussin: Kudara no Mokura Machi to Soga Machi." *Nihon no naka no Chōsen bunka* 12 (1971): 58–65.
———. *"Taika kaishin" shiron*. 2 vols. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1991.
Kameda Haku. "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi no Yamashina/Kubosakadera." In *Kodai o kangeru: Kodai jiin*, ed. Kanō Hisashi, 43–50. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999.
Kaneko Hiroaki. *Saidaiji*. Vol. 10 of *Nihon no koji bijutsu*. Tokyo: Hoikusha, 1987.
Kanō Hisashi. "Kodai tojō to jiin no zōei." In his *Nihon kodai no kokka to tojō*, 269–300. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1990.
———. "Nukatabe muraji to Akunami kōri." In his *Nihon kodai no kokka to tojō*, 139–169. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan Kai, 1990.
Kasahara Yukio. "Jitō tennō jūichinen Yakushiji zōzō ni tsuite." *Bunka kiyō* 2 (1969): 17–37, (Hirosaki Daigaku Kyōyōbun).
Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, ed. *Hakuhō no imeeji: Nara ken shutsudo senbutsu ten*. Nara: 2002.

———, ed. *Renge hyakusō: Kawara kara mita shoki jiin no seiritsu to tenkai*. Nara: 1999.
Katada Tadashi, ed. *Shinpojium: Kodai jiin no iken to saiken o kangaeru*. Nara: Tezukayama Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, 1995.
Katata Osamu. "Daianji no sōsō ni tsuite." *Ōtani shigaku* 5 (1956): 36–46.
———. "Shoki ritsuryō Bukkyō kōryū no ichi sokumen." In his *Nihon kodai shinkō to Bukkyō*, 189–203. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1991.
Katō Kenkichi. *Soga shi to Yamato ōken*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983.
Katsuura Noriko. *Kodai-chūsei no josei to Bukkyō*. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2003.
Kawakami Kunihiko. *Asuka o horu*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2003.
Kawaradera, *Report*. See Nabunken, ed., *Kawaradera hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku*.
Kibi Report. See Nabunken, ed., *Kibi ike haiji hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku*.
Kidder, J. Edward. *The Lucky Seventh: Early Hōryūji and Its Time*. Tokyo: International Christian University Hachiro Yuasa Memorial Museum, 1999.
Kim Chang-ki. "Kankoku kara mita Nihon kodai jiin." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 209 (1993): 15–31.
Kim Tong-hyōn. "Kōryūji ato no hakkutsu." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 207 (1993): 108–133.
Kinoshita Masashi. *Asuka maboroshi no tera: Daikandaiji no nazo*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2005.
———. "Yakushiji ronsō: Iken setsu - hi iken setsu." In his *Fujiwarakyō: Yomigaeru Nihon saisho no tojō*, 48–49. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 2003.
Kinoshita Masashi and Ōwaki Kiyoshi. "Asukadera kyū honzon daiza no chōsa." *Asuka-Fujiwara miya hakkutsu chōsa gaihō* 14 (1984): 18–19.
Kishi Toshio. *Nihon no kodai kyūto*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993.
Kitano Kōhei. "Nihon ni okeru danjō zumi kidan no seiritsu to shoki no Shiragi kei yōso." In *Shiragi to Asuka-Hakuhō no Bukkyō bunka*, eds. Tamura Enchō and Hong Soonchang, 147–199. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975.
Kitayama Shigeo. *Taika no kaishin*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1980.
Kitō Kiyoaki. "Kodai kokka to Bukkyō shisō." In *Kōza Nihon no rekishi* 2, *Kodai* 2, eds. Rekishi Gakkai Kenkyūkai and Nihon Shi Kenkyūkai, 95–127. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppansha, 1989.
Kobayashi Takeshi. "Yakushiji hason butsuzō seiri hōkoku." *Bijutsu kenkyū* 17 (1933): 202–209.
Kumagai Kimio. "Nihon Kudara Ōdera no zōei to higashi Ajia." In *Higashi Ajia 6–7 seiki ni okeru chokuganji: kōsō moku tō no kōkogakuteki hikaku kenkyū*, Tōhoku Gakuin Daigaku ronshū, *Rekishi to bunka* 40 (2006), 233–255.
———. *Ōkimi kara tennō e*. Vol. 3 of *Nihon no rekishi*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001.
———. "Soga shi no tōjō." In *Kodai o kangaeru*: *Keitai-Kinmei chō to Bukkyō denrai*, ed. Yoshimura Takehiko, 100–123. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999.
Kuno Takeshi. "Asuka daibutsu ron." *Bijutsu kenkyū* 300 (1975): 37–49; and 301 (1975): 88–98.
———. "Kōfukuji no buttō." In his *Hakuhō no bijutsu*, 65–80. Tokyo: Rokkō Shuppan, 1978.

Kuno Takeshi and Fukuyama Toshio. *Yakushiji*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan, 1958.
Kuno Takeshi and Inoue Tadashi. "Study of the Yakushiji Triad in the Kondō, Yakushiji." *Acta Asiatica* 1 (1960): 89–108.
Kuramoto Kazuhiro. "Jinshin no ran to Soga shi." In *Soga shi to kodai kokka*, ed. Mayuzumi Hiromichi, 204–206. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1991.
Kurazumi Yasuhiko. "Chihō no kodai jiin: Kanzeonji, Shimotsuke Yakushiji to chihō no gōzoku no ujidera." In *Kodai o kangaeru: Kodai jiin*, ed. Kanō Hisashi, 264–284. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999.
Kurosaka Katsumi, ed. *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei*. Tokyo: Kokushi Taikei Kankōkai, 1932.
Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed. *Bukkyō Bijutsu Kenkyū Ueno Kinen Zaidan Josei Kenkyūkai hōkoku*. Vol. 4: *Kenkyū happyō to zadankai: Kawaradera urayama iseki shutsudohin ni tsuite*. Kyoto, 1977.
———, ed. *Kinai to Tōgoku: Uzumoreta ritsuryō kokka*. Kyoto, 1988.
Lee, Ki-baik. *A New History of Korea*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
Levy, Ian Hideo. *The Ten Thousand Leaves: A Translation of the Man'yōshū, Japan's Premier Anthology of Classical Poetry*. Vol. 1. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
Machida Kōichi. "Asuka daibutsu ni tsuite: Beruchie shi no hihan ni kotaeru." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 98 (1974): 98–105.
———. "Gangōji honzon: Asuka daibutsu." *Kokka* 942 (1972): 9–17.
———. *Jōdai chōkokushi no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1977.
———. "Reply to Berthier." Reference to his "Asuka daibutsu ni tsuite: Beruchie shi no hihan ni kotaeru." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 98 (1974): 98–105.
———. *Yakushiji*. Tokyo: Jitsugyō no Nihonsha, 1960.
Maezono Michio. "Iware no kōkogakuteki kankyō." In *Kōkogaku ronkō* 6, ed. Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo. Nara: 1981.
Man'yōshū. See Satake Akihiro et al., eds. *Man'yōshū.* For translation, see Levy, *The Ten Thousand Leaves.*
Matsuki Hiromi. "Kawaradera no sōritsu: Sono anchi butsuzō to kokka Bukkyō." In *Nihon kodai no kokka to saigi*, eds. Hayashi Rikurō and Suzuki Kiyotami, 358–384. Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1996.
———. "*Nihon shoki* hensan to *jiin engi*." *Kokugakuin Daigaku Daigakuin kiyō* 6 (1975): 101–115.
———. "Yakushi shinkō no Nihon denrai ni tsuite: Hikaku bunka shiteki shiten kara." *Tochigi shigaku* 5 (1991): 1–35.
Matsuo Hikaru. "Suiko tennō." In *Kodai jotei no subete*, ed. Takemitsu Makoto, 70–75. Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1997.
Mayuzumi Hiromichi. "Kawaradera no nazo." In *Zenshū Nihon no koji* 14: *Asuka-Minami Yamato no koji*. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1984.
McCallum, Donald F. "The Earliest Buddhist Statues in Japan." *Artibus Asiae* 61, no. 2 (2001): 149–188.
———. "Fujiwarakyō." Unpublished article.
———. "Hakuhō Sculpture." Unpublished monograph.

———. Review of J. Edward Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh: Early Hōryūji and Its Time*. *Monumenta Nipponica* 57, no. 2 (2002): 252–254.
———. "Sanzenji Kannon bosatsu zō to Hakuhō dōgyō chōkoku no mondai." *Bijutsu fōramu 21* 5 (2001): 20–23.
———. "Tori-busshi and the Production of Buddhist Icons in Asuka-period Japan." In *The Artist as Professional in Japan*, ed. Melinda Takeuchi, 17–37; 205–210. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004.
———. *Zenkōji and Its Icon: A Study in Medieval Japanese Religious Art.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
McNair, Amy. *Donors of Longmen: Faith, Politics, and Patronage in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Sculpture*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
Mifune Takayuki. "Kudara Ōdera no zōei to sono seikaku." *Nihon rekishi* 639 (2001): 1–15.
Miyamoto Chōjirō. "Asuka jidai kenchiku to Bukkyō garan." In *Hōryūji kara Yakushiji e: Asuka-Nara no kenchiku, chōkoku*, vol. 2 of *Nihon bijutsu zenshū*, ed. Mizuno Keisaburō, 155–163. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1990.
Mizuno Ryūtarō. "*Daianji garan engi narabi ruki shizaichō* ni tsuite." *Nanto Bukkyō* 3 (1957): 45–56.
Mizuno Seiichi. "Asuka daibutsu ni tsuite." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 33 (1958): 32–34.
Mohan, Pankaji N. "Wŏn'gwang and Chajang in the Formation of Early Silla Buddhism." In *Religions of Korea in Practice*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, 51–64. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
Mōri Hisashi. "Asuka daibutsu no shūhen." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 67 (1968): 23–38.
———. *Nihon Bukkyō chōkokushi no kenkyū*. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1970.
Mori Ikuo. "Garan haichi henka no yōin." In his *Nihon kodai jiin zōei no kenkyū*, 77–115. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppan, 1998.
———. "Heijōkyō nai no kanji to ujidera." In his *Nihon no kodai kawara*, 264–265. Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1991.
———. *Kawara to kodai jiin*. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1993.
———. "Kodai jiin no iken to saiken mondaiten no shozai." In *Shinpojium: Kodai jiin no iken to saiken o kangaeru*, ed. Katada Tadashi, 1–6. Nara: Tezukayama Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, 1995.
———. "Korean Influence and Japanese Innovations in Tiles of the Asuka-Hakuhō Period." In *Transmitting the Forms of Divinity: Early Buddhist Art from Korea and Japan*, ed. Washizuka Hiromitsu, 356–359. New York: Japan Society, 2003.
———. *Nihon kodai jiin zōei no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppan, 1998.
———. *Nihon no kodai kawara*. Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1991.
———. "Rōji shiki kawara." In his *Nihon no kodai kawar*a, 64–78. Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1991.
———. "Shimotsuke Yakushiji." In his *Nihon no kodai kawara*, 259–275. Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1991.
———. "Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan shozō Kidera ato (Koyama haiji) shutsudo nokigawara." *Museum* 594 (2005): 5–15.
———. *Zoku Kawara to kodai jiin*. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1993.

Morse, Anne N., and Samuel Morse. *Object as Insight: Japanese Art and Ritual*. New York: Katonah Museum of Art, 1995.
Munhwajae Yon'guso, ed. *Hwangnyongsa*. 2 vols. Seoul: Munhwajae Kwalliguk Munhwajae Yon'guso, 1984.
Munhwajae Yon'guso Yujok Chosa Yon'gusil, ed. (Kim Chon-gi et al.). *Miruksa: Yujok palgul chosa pogoso*. 2 vols. Seoul: Munhwajae Kwalliguk Munhwajae Yon'guso, 1989, 1996.
Nabunken, ed. *Asuka Fujiwara no miya ten: Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Sōritsu 50 Shūnen Kinen*. Nara: 2002.
———, ed. *Asukadera hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku*. Nara: 1958.
———, ed. *Kawaradera hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku*. Nara: 1960.
———, ed. "Kawaradera jiiki hokugen no chōsa." *Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo kiyō*, 2004: 118–122.
———, ed. "Kawaradera no chōsa." *Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo kiyō* (2006): 74–81.
———, ed. *Kibi ike haiji hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku: Kudara Ōdera ato no chōsa*. Nara: 2003.
———, ed. "Moto Yakushiji no sainan sumi no chōsa." In *Asuka-Fujiwara no miya hakkutsu chōsa gaihō* 6 (1976): 49–55.
———, ed. *Nara Imperial Palace Site Museum*. Nara: Nara Cultural Properties Institute, 1996.
———, ed. *Yakushiji hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku*. Nara: 1987.
———, ed. *Yamato Yamadadera ato*. 2 vols. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002.
———, Asuka-Fujiwara Miya Ato Hakkutsu Chōsabu, ed., *Fujiwara miya to kyō*. 3rd printing, revised. Nara: 1999.
Nakai Shinkō. "Kokka Bukkyō no seiritsu to tenkai." In his *Nihon kodai Bukkyō seido shi no kenkyū*, 12–15. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1991.
———. *Nihon kodai Bukkyō seido shi no kenkyū*. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1991.
Nakao Yoshiharu. *Naniwa no miya no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995.
Naobayashi Futai. *Nihon kodai Bukkyō seido shi kenkyū*. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1988.
Naoki Kōjirō, ed. *Kodai o kangaeru: Naniwa*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1992.
———. "Kudara Ōdera no konryū to Abe shi." *Sōai Daigaku kenkyū ronshū* 15, no. 1 (1998): 1–11.
———. "The Nara State." In *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 1, *Ancient Japan*, ed. Delmer M. Brown, 231–233, 237–239. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, now called Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo. See Nabunken.
Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed. *Asuka-Hakuhō no kogawara*. Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu, 1970.
———, ed. *Asuka no senbutsu to sozō: Kawaradera urayama shutsudo hin o chūshin to shite*. Nara: 1976.
———, ed. *Busshari to hōju: Shaka o shitau kokoro*. Nara: 2001.

———, ed. *Nihon Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*. Tokyo: Dōhōsha, 1984.
———, ed. *Hōryūji: Nihon Bukkyō bijutsu no reimei*. Nara: 2004.
Nara Rokudaiji Taikan Kankōkai, ed. *Nara rokudaiji taikan*. Revised edition. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001.
Nishikawa Kyōtarō. "Hōryūji kondō Shaka-Yakushi ni zō to kennō kondō butsu no chūzō." In *Hōryūji kennō hōmotsu: Kondō butsu* I, ed. Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 340–346. Tokyo: Ōtsuka Kōgeisha, 1996.
Nishikawa Shinji. *Hōryūji gojū no tō no sozō*. Tokyo: Nigensha, 1966.
Ōhashi Katsuaki. *Asuka no bunmei kaika*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1997.
———. "Asukadera no sōritsu ni kansuru mondai." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 107 (1976): 3–32.
———. "Chokuganji to kokka kanji no zōei soshiki." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 222 (1996): 41–61.
———. "Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji zōzō kō." In *Ronsō Bukkyō bijutsushi*, ed. Machida Kōichi Sensei Koki Kinenkai, 321–351. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1986.
———. "Hakuhō chōkoku ron." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 223 (1996): 37–56.
———. "Hōryūji bijutsu rikai no tame ni." In his *Hōryūji bijutsu ronsō no shiten,* 13–78. Tokyo: Gurafusha, 1998.
———. *Hōryūji bijutsu ronsō no shiten*. Tokyo: Gurafusha, 1998.
———. "Kawaradera no zōbutsu to Hakuhō chōkoku no jōgen ni tsuite," *Bukkyō geijutsu* 128 (1980): 11–25.
———. "Kudara Ōdera zōei kō." *Bijutsushi kenkyū* 19 (1982): 14–31.
———. "Kuratsukuri Tori no zōbutsu gihō no shūtoku ni tsuite." In *Nihon kodai sōkō*, ed. Takatori Masato Sensei Koki Shukuga Ronbunshū Kankōkai, 23–49. Tokyo, 1994.
———. "Ōdera kō." *Waseda Daigaku Daigakuin Kenkyūkai kiyō* 41, no. 3 (1996): 105–121.
———. *Yakushiji*. Vol. 4 of *Nihon no ko bijutsu*. Tokyo: Hoikusha, 1996.
Ōhashi Katsuaki and Matsubara Satomi, eds., *Yakushiji, sensanbyakunen no seika: Bijutsushi kenkyū no ayumi* (Tokyo: Ribun Shuppan, 2000).
Okamoto Tōzō. *Tōgoku no kodai jiin to kawara*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1996.
Ōmi Toshihide. "Kibi ike haiji wa Kudara Ōdera ka: Kudara Ōdera to Takechi Ōdera no shozaichi o megutte." In *Shinpojiumu: Kibi ike haiji o megutte — Kudara Ōdera wa doko ka*, ed. Tezukayama Daigaku Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, 25–49. Nara: 1998.
Onogi Ruriko. "Asukadera saimon shutsudo dokan no kentō: Seisaku gihō ni miru Asukadera zōga kōjin to no kanren o chūshin ni." Kansai Daigaku Shigaku-Chirigaku Kai, *Shisen* 103 (2006): 32–51.
Osaka Furitsu Chikatsu Asuka Hakubutsukan. *Kawachi: Kodai jiin junrei,* Osaka, 2007.
Ōtsushi Rekishi Hakubutsukan, eds. *Kodai no kyūto: Yomigaeru Ōtsukyō*. Ōtsu: 1993.
Ōwaki Kiyoshi. *Asuka no tera*. Vol. 14 of *Nihon no koji bijutsu*. Tokyo: Hoikusha, 1989.

———. "Asukadera." In *Asuka no tera*, vol. 14 of *Nihon no koji bijutsu*, 9–56. Tokyo: Hoikusha, 1989.

———. "Daiakandaiji." In *Asuka no tera*, vol. 14 of *Nihon no koji bijutsu*, 162–191. Tokyo: Hoikusha, 1989.

———. "Hakuhō no garan: Moto Yakushiji o horu — chūmon to kairō chōsa kara," *Kikan Asuka kaze* 52 (1994): 19–24.

———. "Kawaradera." In *Asuka no tera,* vol. 14 of *Nihon no koji bijutsu*, 104–106. Tokyo: Hoikusha, 1989.

———. "Kibidera wa nakkata: *Kyōnai nijūshiji* no hitei ni kanshite." In *Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo sōritsu yonjū shūnen kinen ronbunshū: Bunkazai ronsō* II, ed. Nabunken, 161–178. Nara: 1995.

———. "Kudara Ōdera ronsō no yukue o megutte." In *Shinpojiumu: Kibi ike haiji o megutte — Kudara Ōdera wa doko ka*, ed. Tezukayama Daigaku Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, 50–62. Nara: 1998.

———. "Soga shi no ujidera kara mita sono honkyo." In *Katada Tadashi sensei koki kinen ronbunshū*, 459–477. Tokyo: Shin'yōsha, 1997.

Ōyama Seiichi. *"Shōtoku Taishi" no tanjō*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999.

Ozawa Tsuyoshi. "Denshō Itabuki no miya ato no hakkutsu to Asuka no shogū." *Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo ronshū* 9 (1988): 367–414. Later included in *Nihon kodai kyūto kōzō no kenkyū*, ed. Ozawa Kiyoshi, 19–71. Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2003.

———. "Kibi ike haiji no hakkutsu chōsa." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 235 (1997): 30–50.

———. "Kibi ike haiji to Kudara Ōdera." In *Shinpojiumu: Kibi ike haiji o megutte — Kudara Ōdera wa doko ka*, ed. Tezukayama Daigaku Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, 1–24. Nara: 1998.

———. *Nihon kodai kyūto kōzō no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2003.

———. "Oharida miya, Asuka miya, Shima miya: Nana seiki no Asuka chiiki ni okeru kyūto kūkan no keisei." In Nabunken, ed., *Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Sōritsu Yonjū Shūnen Kinen Ronbunshū: Bunkazai Ronsō* II, 131–159. Nara: 1995.

Paekche Munhwa Kaebal Yon'guwon, ed. *Paekche wajon torok*. Seoul: 1983.

Paine, Robert Treat, and Alexander Soper. *Art and Architecture of Japan*. Revised edition. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975.

Pak Tae-nam. "Kankoku Sangoku jidai ni okeru Bukkyō jiin mokutō seki no kōsatsu: Mirŭksa, Hwangnyongsa o chūshin to shite." In *Higashi Ajia 6–7 seki ni okeru chokuganji: kōsō moku tō no kōkōgakuteki hikaku kenkyū*, Tōhoku Gakuin Daigaku ronshū, *Rekishi to bunka* 40 (2006), 71–83.

———. "Shiragi Hwangnyongsa kujū tō no zōsei ni kansuru hikaku shiteki kentō." In *Higashi Ajia 6–7 seki ni okeru chokuganji: kōsō moku tō no kōkōgakuteki hikaku kenkyū*, Tōhoku Gakuin Daigaku ronshū, *Rekishi to bunka* 40 (2006), 213–232.

Pak Yonchin. "Kudara gatō no taikeiteki bunrui." In *Kudara bunka to Asuka bunka*, eds. Tamura Enchō and Huang Suyun, 181–248. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1978.

Piggott, Joan R. *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Qian Guoxiang. "Hokugi Rakuyō Yongningsi to kidan no hakkutsu to kenkyū." In *Higashi Ajia 6–7 seiki ni okeru chokuganji: kōsō moku tō no kōkōgakuteki hikaku kenkyū*, Tōhoku Gakuin Daigaku ronshū, *Rekishi to bunka* 40 (2006), 9–39.
Rosenfield, John M. "Japanese Buddhist Art: Alive in the Modern Age." In *Buddhist Treasures from Nara*, ed. Michael R. Cunningham, 232–244. Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1998.
Ruppert, Brian D. *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.
Saeki Arikiyo. *Kodai o kangaeru: Yūryaku tennō to sono jidai*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988.
Sakamoto Tarō et al., eds. *Nihon shoki*. Vols. 67–68 of *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965.
Sakurai Tokutarō et al., eds. *Jisha engi*. Vol. 20 of *Nihon shisō taikei*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1975.
Sakuraishi Bunkazai Kyōkai, ed. *Kibi ike haiji*. Sakurai, 1998.
Sakuraishi Kyōiku Iinkai, ed. *Hakkutsu chōsa hōkokusho* 22. Sakurai, 2001.
———, ed. *Hakkutsu chōsa hōkokusho* 23. Sakurai, 2002.
———, ed. *Kibi ike haiji iseki*. Sakurai, 2001.
———, ed. "Kibi ike iseki dai 11ji hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō hōkoku." In *Heisei 12 nendo kokko hojo ni yoru hakkutsu chōsa hōkokusho* 22, 19–24, pls. 1–4. Sakurai, 2001.
———, ed. "Kibi ike iseki dai 12ji hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō hōkoku." In *Heisei 13 nendo kokko hojo ni yoru hakkutsu chōsa hōkokusho* 23, 13–16, pls. 6–9. Sakurai, 2002.
Sasakawa Naoki. "Kōgyoku chō no Abe shi: Itsushi no hen no rekishiteki zentei." *Shirin* 87, no. 1 (2004): 104–130.
Satake Akihiro et al., eds. *Man'yōshū.* 4 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999.
Satō Makoto. "Heijōkyō no teradera." In *Kodai o kangeru: Kodai jiin*, ed. Kanō Hisashi, 232–263. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999.
Satō Sōjun. "Taika kaishin wa atta darō ka." In *Sōten Nihon no rekishi* 2: *Kodai hen* II, 225–236. Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1990.
Satsumeiki. See Ōhashi Katsuaki. *Yakushiji*. Vol. 4 of *Nihon no ko bijutsu*. Tokyo: Hoikusha, 1996, 111–113.
Senda Minoru. *Asuka: Mizu no ōchō*. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 2001.
Senda Takemichi. "Asukadera to Ishibutai kofun kara kangaeru." In *Katada Tadashi sensei koki kinen ronbunshū*, 1027–1042. Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1997.
Sharf, Robert H. *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the* Treasure Store Treatise. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.
Shida Jun'ichi. "Soga shi no shusshin to hasshōchi." In *Soga shi to kodai kokka*, ed. Mayuzumi Hiromichi, 20–26. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1991.
Shimizu Shin'ichi. "Kibi ike iseki dai 6ji hakkutsu chōsa." In *1995 nendo hakkutsu chōsa hōkokusho* I, ed. Sakurai shi Bunkazai Kyōkai, Sakurai Shinai Maizō Bunkazai, 34–47. Sakurai, 1996.
Shinokawa Ken. *Asuka no chōtei to ōtō fu*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2001.
———. "Itsushi no hen to Soga Kurayamada Ishikawa Maro." In *Nihon kodai*

seiji shi ronkō, ed. Saeki Arikiyo, 59–84. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983.
———. “Kōgyoku-Saimei.” In *Kodai jotei no subete*, ed. Takemitsu Makoto, 95–116. Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1997.
Shirai, Yoko. “Senbutsu: Figured Clay Tiles, Buddhism, and Political Developments on the Japanese Islands, ca. 650 CE–794 CE.” PhD diss., UCLA, Department of Art History, 2006.
Sickman, Laurence, and Alexander Soper. *The Art and Architecture of China*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1956.
Smith, Craig B. *How The Great Pyramid Was Built*. New York: Collins, 2004.
Snellen, J. B., trans. *Shoku Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan, continued, from 697 to 791. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. Series 2, no. 11 (1934): 169–278.
Steinhardt, Nancy S. et al. *Chinese Architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
Stevenson, Miwa. “The Founding of the Monastery Gangōji and a List of Its Treasures.” In *Religions of Japan in Practice*, ed. George J. Tanabe, Jr., 299–315. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
Sugiyama Hiroshi. *Bonshō*. Vol. 355 of *Nihon no bijutsu*. Tokyo: Shibundō, 1995.
Suzuki Kakichi. *Early Buddhist Architecture in Japan*. Tokyo: Kōdansha International, 1980. Translation of *Jōdai no jiin kenchiku*. Vol. 65 of *Nihon no bijutsu*. Tokyo: Shibundō, 1971.
———. *Jōdai no jiin kenchiku*. Vol. 65 of *Nihon no bijutsu*. Tokyo: Shibundō, 1971.
Suzuki Yasutami. “Soga shi wa Kudara jin ka.” *Rekishi dokuhon* (1981.6): 56–63.
Takakura Hiroaki. *Dazaifu to Kanzeonji*. Fukuoka: Kaichōsha, 1996.
Takeda Sachiko. *Shinkō no ōken: Shōtoku Taishi*. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993.
Takemitsu Makoto. *Kodai jotei no subete*. Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1997.
Tamura Enchō. “Amadera to hōshidera.” In his *Kodai Chōsen Bukkyō to Nihon Bukkyō*, 39–44. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1980.
———. *Asuka-Hakuhō Bukkyō shi*. 2 vols. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1994.
———. “Fujiwarakyō no yondaiji.” In his *Asuka Bukkyō shi kenkyū*, 101–112. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1969.
———. “*Gangōji ko engi* (*Gangōji garan engi narabi ni ruki shizaichō*) shishaku, shikō.” In *Kodaishi ronsō*, ed. Inoue Mitsusada Hakase Shikan Kinenkai, 493–531. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1978.
———. “Hōkōji no sōken.” In *Kodai-chūsei no shakai to shisō*, ed. Ienaga Saburō Kyōju Tokyo Kyōiku Daigaku Taikan Kinen Ronshū Iinkai, 99–115. Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1979.
———. “Kanzeonji sōzō kō.” *Nihon rekishi* 440 (1985): 1–22.
———. *Kodai Chōsen Bukkyō to Nihon Bukkyō*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1980.
Tanabe Ikuo. *Heijōkyō: Machi to kurashi*. Tokyo: Tokyodō Shuppan, 1997.
———. “Heijōkyō no jiin iseki: Yakushiji no zōei keika o chūshin to shite.” In *Heijōkyō ni okeru shūkyō bijutsu no shomondai*, ed. Bukkyō Bijutsu Kenkyū Happyō to Zadankai, 1–9. Kyoto: 1989.
Tanaka Tsuguhito. “Ikaruga Ōdera kō.” *Nihon shoki kenkyū* 21 (1997): 3–24.

———. *Shōtoku Taishi shinkō no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983.
Tazawa Yutaka et al., eds. *Hōryūji shiryō chōkoku hen* 2, *Hōryūji hōzō shō kondō butsu*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1954.
Terasawa Kaoru. *Ōken tanjō*. Vol. 2 of *Nihon no rekishi*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000.
Tezukayama Daigaku Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, ed. *Shinpojiumu: Kibi ike haiji o megutte—Kudara Ōdera wa doko ka*. Nara: 1998.
Thorp, Robert L., and Richard Vinograd. *Chinese Art and Culture*. New York: Prentice Hall and Harry N. Abrams, 2001.
Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed. *Tokubetsuten zuroku, Kondō butsu: Chūgoku, Chōsen, Nihon*. Tokyo: 1988.
Tokyo Tō Bijutsukan, ed. *Shōtoku Taishi ten*. Tokyo, 2001.
Torao Tatsuya, "Jitō tennō." In *Kodai jotei no subete*, ed. Takemitsu Makoto, 117–136. Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1997.
Tōyama Mitsuo. *Jinshin no ran*. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1996.
———. "Jomei sokui zen funsō no ichi kōsatsu: Ōi keishō no shisutemu o meguru." In his *Kodai ōken to Taika kaishin*, 93–109. Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1999.
———. *Taika kaishin*. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993.
Tsuboi Kiyotari. *Asukadera*. Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1964.
Tsukaguchi Yoshinobu. "Kudara Ōdera ni kansuru kisoteki kōsatsu: *Daianji garan engi narabi ruki shizaichō* shosai no shōshitsu kiji o chūshin to shite." *Nihon shoki kenkyū* 18 (1992): 229–253.
Uehara Mahito. "Nukatadera shutsudo kawara no saikentō." In Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kenkyū hōkoku* 88 (2001): 107–146.
Wada Atsumu. *Asuka: Rekishi to fūdo o aruku*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003.
———. "Kudara miya saikō." *Asuka kaze* 12 (1984): 29–35.
———. "Mogari no kisoteki kōsatsu." *Shirin* 52, no. 5 (1969): 32–90.
Warner, Langdon. *Japanese Sculpture of the Suiko Period*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923.
With, Karl. *Buddhistische Plastik in Japan: Bis in den Beginn des 8 Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Vienna: Kunstverlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1922.
Yagi Atsuru. *Kenkyūshi: Asuka-Fujiwarakyō*. Tokyo: Yoshikawara Kōbunkan, 1996.
Yakushiji. "Yomigaeru Hakuhō garan: Yakushiji kōdō." Nara: 2005.
Yamamoto, Tadano, and Walter Edwards. "Early Buddhist Temples in Japan: Roof-tile Manufacture and the Social Basis of Temple Construction." *World Archaeology* 2, no. 2 (1995): 336–353.
Yamashita Ryūji. "Niji haiji no hakkutsu chōsa." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 235 (1997): 81–97.
Yamato koji taikan 3: *Gangōji Gokurakubō, Gangōji, Daianji, Hannyadera, Jūrin'in*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977.
Yamazaki Shinji. "Kōki kofun to Asuka-Hakuhō jiin." In *Bunkazai ronsō*, ed. Nabunken, 179–216. Nara: 1983.
Yiengpruksawan, Mimi Hall. *Hiraizumi: Buddhist Art and Regional Politics in Twelfth Century Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.

———. "The Legacy of Buddhist Art at Nara." In *Buddhist Treasures from Nara*, ed. Michael R. Cunningham, 1–34. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1998.
Yokota Ken'ichi. *Nihon shoki seiritsuron josetsu*. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1984.
———. "Soga honsōke no metsubō to Taika kaishin." In *Kodai o kangaeru: Soga shi to kodai kokka*, ed. Mayuzumi Hiromichi, 169–201. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1991.
Yoshida Kazuhiko. "*Gangōji garan engi narabi ni ruki shizaichō* no shinpyōsei." In *Shōtoku Taishi no shinjitsu*, ed. Ōyama Seiichi, 91–122. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2004.
———. "Revisioning Religion in Ancient Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 30, nos. 1–2 (2003): 1–26.
———. "The Thesis that Prince Shōtoku Did Not Exist." *Acta Asiatica* 91 (2006): 1–20.
Yoshimura Takehiko, ed. *Kodai o kangaeru: Keitai-Kinmei chō to Bukkyō denrai*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999.
———. *Shōtoku Taishi*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002.
Zhu Yanshi. "Gōjō iseki Jōbyōjō Tōgi-hokusei butsuji ato no chōsa to hakkutsu." In *Higashi Ajia 6–7 seki ni okeru chokuganji: kōsō moku tō no kōkōgakuteki hikaku kenkyū*, Tōhoku Gakuin Daigaku ronshū, *Rekishi to bunka* 40 (2006), 40–56.

Index

Page numbers in **boldface** type refer to illustrations

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Donald F. McCallum is professor of Japanese art history at the University of California, Los Angeles. Among his many publications is *Zenkoji and Its Icon: A Study in Medieval Japanese Religious Art*, Princeton University Press, 1994.

Production Notes for McCallum | THE FOUR GREAT TEMPLES
Cover and interior design by April Leidig-Higgins
in Garamond PremierPro, with display type in LeBeaune.
Composition by Copperline Book Services, Inc.
Printing and binding by Edwards Brothers
Printed on 60# Finch Opaque, 500 ppi